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Committee on Un-American Activities
House
86th Congress

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**COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG PUERTO RICANS IN
NEW YORK CITY AND PUERTO RICO
(NEW YORK CITY—Part 1)**

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

NOVEMBER 16 AND 17, 1959

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

(INCLUDING INDEX)



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *
(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 86TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 7, 1959

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY AND PUERTO RICO

(NEW YORK CITY—PART 1)

Public hearings on Communist activities among Puerto Rican nationality groups in New York City and in Puerto Rico were held in New York City on November 16 and 17 and in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on November 18, 19, and 20, 1959.¹

In opening the hearings in New York City, Congressman William M. Tuck, chairman of the subcommittee which conducted the hearings, stated in part:

At the outset, may I disclaim any notion that the Committee on Un-American Activities is investigating Puerto Ricans en masse. It is our duty to investigate Communists and Communist activities, and we follow these trails wherever they may lead.

Preliminary investigation by the staff indicates that the Communist conspiracy is attempting to penetrate Puerto Rican nationality groups in New York City and to establish conduits between these groups in the United States and Communist conspiratorial operations in Puerto Rico.

We are confident that the overwhelming majority of Puerto Ricans are loyal and patriotic, but the power of the Communist conspiracy stems not from numbers, but from the dedication and zeal of the few disciplined conspirators who wield an influence far disproportionate to their numbers in the total war which communism is waging against freedom everywhere.

As a background for the hearings there were inserted in the record excerpts from Communist publications and international broadcasts, reflecting the design which the international Communist conspiracy has on Puerto Rican nationality groups in the United States and Puerto Rico and the interlocking relationship between these groups.

Sergei Buteneff, a supervisor in the New York office of the United States Customs Service, displayed to the subcommittee numerous Communist propaganda publications in Spanish which are being sent to Puerto Rican groups in New York City.

Donald F. Barnes, a senior interpreter of the United States Department of State, translated and analyzed a number of articles from the Communist propaganda publications displayed by Mr. Buteneff. A principal line of these publications extols the visit of Nikita Khrushchev to the United States and commends the cultural achievements of the Soviet Union. A typical article indicating the current designs of the international Communist conspiracy in Latin America is

¹See "Communist Activities Among Puerto Ricans in New York City and Puerto Rico" (San Juan, Puerto Rico-Part 2).

reflected in the following excerpt from the Spanish translation of a current issue of *New Times* :

For a long time, the Latin American rulers have followed Washington with docility. The majority of these countries were enslaved by Yankee monopolies. The Organization of American States was founded in 1948 at the prodding of Washington. Official propaganda represented it as the personification of the theory of national solidarity of the countries of the Western Hemisphere, which was very much in style in those years, but that theory was false. In reality, this new organization was nothing more than a means of the subjugation of the peoples of Latin America by the monopolies from the north. Behind that screen, the Department of State interfered in the internal affairs of the signatory nations to snuff out the least sign of independence. The OAS also had the mission of protecting dictatorial regimes installed with the assistance of Yankee monopolies and the Department of State. But it made no move in the face of the bloody reprisals which the democratic government of Guatemala suffered.

Detective Mildred Blauvelt of the Bureau of Special Services of the New York City Police Department, testified respecting her activities as a onetime undercover agent of the New York Police Department in the Communist Party in which she served in the Boro Hall Section in Brooklyn. The Boro Hall Section included the La Pasionaria Club which was composed of Puerto Rican comrades. Detective Blauvelt's testimony respecting Communist infiltration in the Puerto Rican nationality groups in New York City was based not only on her experience as an undercover agent in the Communist Party (until November of 1951) but also on current information developed from confidential sources in the course of her present duties. In regard to the means through which the Communist conspiracy attempts to organize the Puerto Ricans in New York City, Detective Blauvelt stated:

The Communist Party attempts to organize the Puerto Ricans through what it calls its "concentrations." According to Communist definition, a "concentration" is a Leninist method of work, that is, party activities are to be conducted in specified areas, such as working-class areas, nationality groups, racial groups, and so on, for the purpose of propagandizing the party line. An area where the majority of the residents is Puerto Rican presents itself as a concentration to the Communist Party because here, in a designated area, the party will find practically all the elements upon which it can spew its propaganda of the class struggle.

Here the party finds the working-class group, the low-income group, and those on relief. Because of the fact that they are a Spanish-speaking people, they take on the aspects of a nationality group, and because of the fact that they are, as a whole, just a small part of our population, they become a minority group.

With this combination in their social and economic status, the party hopes to convince them that they are being ex-

exploited, and thus nurture the seeds of discontent so that they will turn to the party as the defender of their human rights and as the only organization, according to party representations, which is interested in their welfare—their welfare for jobs, higher wages, and equality for all.

Continuing, Detective Blauvelt said :

The party has no real sympathy with these people. It is using them for its own purposes, for its own propaganda purposes. It wishes to recruit them into the party, and if it can't do that, it wants to use them to gain support for any of its propaganda campaigns for the purposes of the party, to project the aims of the party.

* * * * *

The party was concerned sometimes not so much in gaining these people as party members, but in gaining their support, because the sheer weight of numbers in support of any propaganda campaign on the part of the party would give the impression that this was the actual will of the people, and thus implement and project the aims of the party.

In the course of her testimony, Detective Blauvelt identified the following persons:

Caryll Lasky, financial secretary of the Boro Hall Section of the Communist Party;

Bea Sacks, one of the executive members of the Kings County Committee and acting as the organizational director of the Boro Hall Section of the Communist Party;

Jesus Colon, a member of the Communist Party, who was active in Puerto Rican work and regarded also as the leader of both the La Pasionaria Club and the Puerto Rican branch of the IWO;

Abe Osheroff, the organizer of the Boro Hall Section of the Communist Party;

Eleanor Woolman Schor, organizational secretary of the Boro Hall Section;

Carl Vedro, a member of the Executive Committee of the Kings County Committee of the Brooklyn Communist Party;

Emilia Giboyeaux, membership director of the La Pasionaria Club;

Jose Giboyeaux, a member of the La Pasionaria Club and delegate to the American Peace Crusade;

Margery de Leon, membership director of the Boro Hall Section;

Harry Shapiro, alias Harry Brockman, acting organizer of the La Pasionaria Club.

Carlos Dore, organizer of the La Pasionaria Club;

Ruth Perloff, the area director of the Jay-Smith Clubs of the Communist Party; and

Charles Marshall, the area director of the La Pasionaria Club and present director of the Boro Hall Section.

In concluding her testimony Detective Blauvelt described the purpose of Communist interest in Puerto Rican nationality groups as follows:

It is a party tactic to foster resentment on the part of any minority group for the purpose of causing further dissension

among the people in this country. In many cases, where no resentment exists, the party will strive to create it. For example, a routine arrest of some lawbreaker will be labeled persecution, police brutality, violation of civil rights, and it will be seized upon by the party as an excuse to initiate an intensive petition or leaflet campaign or to initiate the formation of a peoples civil rights or defense committee.

The issues about which everyone is concerned, such as housing, rents, wages and prices, are used by the party as an entering wedge, magnified greatly out of proportion, and then followed by propaganda for the party's own purposes. In all of its literature, the party pretends that it is the one which has initiated concern over these issues. It tries to present the assumption that it is the party which is the only organization that can ameliorate these conditions and that it is only through support of the party that these conditions can be satisfactorily resolved.

Jesus Colon, who had been identified by Detective Blauvelt as a member of the Communist Party who was active in Puerto Rican work and regarded also as the leader of both the La Pasionaria Club and the Puerto Rican branch of the IWO, appeared in response to a subpoena and identified himself as a writer for *The Worker*. Mr. Colon testified that he was born in Puerto Rico where he attended grammar school; that he came to Brooklyn, New York, in 1917, and was educated in high school and at St. John's Law School. He recounted various occupations in which he had been engaged, including employment in the United States Post Office Department.

There was displayed to Mr. Colon an article in *The Worker* pertaining to Puerto Ricans and Puerto Rico, but he refused to answer all questions regarding his writings on the ground that his answers might tend to incriminate him. On similar grounds he also refused to answer whether he writes for a publication in San Juan, Puerto Rico, known as *Pueblo*; whether he disseminates and distributes among Puerto Rican nationality groups in New York City, Communist propaganda emanating from behind the Iron Curtain and from San Juan; whether he is an instructor in the Faculty of Social Science;² whether he was at the time of the hearing a member of the Communist Party; and whether he had information of current Communist activities among Puerto Rican nationality groups in New York City and in Puerto Rico.

Felix Ojeda Ruiz appeared in response to a subpoena and stated that he was born in Puerto Rico where he was educated through the first year of high school; that he came to the United States for permanent residence approximately 4 years ago. There was displayed to Mr. Ojeda Ruiz an article from the *New York Daily Worker* in which he is identified under date of April 1954 as editor of a publication in San Juan known as *Pueblo*, but Mr. Ojeda Ruiz refused to acknowledge his one-time status on the ground that his answers might tend to incriminate him.

Mr. Ojeda Ruiz refused, on the same ground, to say whether he was a member of the Communist Party; whether he was, at the time of the hearings, engaged in any Communist Party activities; whether he is a

² Cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as an adjunct of the Communist Party for the purpose of indoctrinating Communists and Communist sympathizers. (See: "Communist Training Operations," pt. 1, hearings before House Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21 and 22, 1959.)

distributing agent of Pueblo among Puerto Rican groups in New York City; and whether he currently maintains contacts with any persons known by him to be in the Communist operation in Puerto Rico. There was displaced to Mr. Ojeda Ruiz a photostatic reproduction of a United States passport application filed by him in 1952 for a passport to go to Spain, but he refused to answer any questions concerning the passport or whether he traveled to Spain in 1952 on Communist Party business.

William Norman appeared in response to a subpoena and stated that he lived in Flushing, New York; that he was born in Russia; came to the United States as a child; that his education included 2 years of work at City College in New York; and that he is a citizen of the United States by derivation. He refused, on the ground that it might tend to incriminate him, to answer questions respecting his occupation and whether he is, or in the recent past was, executive secretary of the New York Puerto Rican Communist Party.

Mr. Norman's attention was directed to the fact that Charles Regan testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities in Buffalo, New York, in October 1957, that he (Regan) knew William Norman as a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Norman refused to state whether Mr. Regan was in error in his identification or was telling the truth on the ground that his answer might incriminate him.

Stanley L. Weiss appeared in response to a subpoena and stated that he was born in the Bronx, New York, and that his education included 2 years of high school in Brooklyn, New York. Mr. Weiss refused, on the ground that his answers might tend to incriminate him, to answer questions as to whether he had ever traveled to Puerto Rico; whether he maintains contacts with people in San Juan, Puerto Rico; and whether he was, at the time of the hearings, a member of the Communist Party.

Jorge W. Maysonet-Hernandez appeared in response to a subpoena and testified that he was born in Puerto Rico, where he attended high school. There was displayed to Mr. Maysonet-Hernandez an article appearing in the American press which reads, in part, as follows:

Jorge W. Maysonet-Hernandez, 40. Has served as secretary of labor of the Municipal Committee of the party in San Juan, Puerto Rico. A member of the party since 1943.

Mr. Maysonet-Hernandez declined to answer questions with respect to the article on the ground that his answer might tend to incriminate him. He, likewise on the same ground, refused to answer whether he had been one of the top Communists in San Juan prior to coming to the United States; whether he presently maintains contacts with members of the Communist Party in Puerto Rico; and whether he was, at the time of the hearings, a member of the Communist Party.

When asked if the Communist Party is an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, Mr. Maysonet-Hernandez replied:

I believe that the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, as is the case with any other organization that is fighting for the freedom of Puerto Rico, has a right to do so, because force and violence and their existence are determined by circumstances and by the position of reaction. That is my answer.

Ramon Acevedo appeared in response to a subpoena and testified that he resided in Brooklyn, New York. He described his occupation as a manual laborer. Mr. Acevedo was asked a number of questions by the committee but evaded answering, although he did not invoke constitutional privileges.

Victor Agosto appeared in response to a subpoena and testified that he was born in either Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands and that he had attended primary school. He stated that he came to the continental United States in 1943 and was currently employed as a general worker.

He refused, on the ground that it might tend to incriminate him, to answer questions concerning his current membership in the Communist Party; his presence at the Sixteenth National Convention of the Communist Party in February 1957 in New York City; and concerning his current activity among Puerto Rican nationality groups in New York City.

Michael Crenovich appeared in response to a subpoena and testified that he was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1925 and left for Argentina in 1929, where he was educated and where he learned to speak Spanish. Mr. Crenovich stated that he returned to the United States for military service in 1946, and in 1947 received his discharge. He stated that the only occupations in which he has been engaged were office clerk and printing pressman.

When confronted with a document listing him as an instructor in a course on "Latin America Today" at the Faculty of Social Science, Mr. Crenovich refused to comment, basing his refusal on the ground that his answer might tend to incriminate him. When confronted with the May 7, 1949, issue of the publication, *Liberación*, in which "Miguel Crenovitch" is listed as business manager, the witness refused to comment, basing his refusal on the ground that his answer might tend to incriminate him.

Mr. Crenovich refused on the ground that it might tend to incriminate him to answer questions concerning his May Day speech in Spanish, his work among the Puerto Rican nationality group in New York City, and his membership in the Communist Party.

Angel Rene Torres appeared in response to a subpoena and testified that he was born in Puerto Rico and came to the continental United States at the age of four. Mr. Torres stated that he had attended high school for 2 years in Brooklyn, New York, and that he was "a blacklisted seaman by profession."

Mr. Torres refused to answer, on the ground it might tend to incriminate him, when asked whether he was a member of the Communist Party at the time he was a seaman. Mr. Torres added that he had done a little free-lance writing and had written a little poetry. When confronted with a copy of *Vanguard* of October 1959, he refused to answer questions concerning his editorship of the publication on the ground that his answers might tend to incriminate him.

When confronted with a publication entitled, "Port-Light," of April 1959, on the masthead of which appears "Issued by Communists on the Waterfront," Mr. Torres refused to answer a question concerning his connection with the publication, basing his refusal on the ground that his answer might tend to incriminate him.

Mr. Torres refused to answer questions, on the ground that it might tend to incriminate him, concerning his knowledge of the publications,

"Voice of the Membership" and "The Independent Caucus"; his current membership in the Communist Party; and his use of the alias, Armando Marino.

Armando Roman appeared in response to a subpoena and testified his occupation was a food worker. There was read to Mr. Roman excerpts from a report received by the committee respecting a meeting held in New York City on November 6, 1959, in which the following appears:

Armando Roman was the last speaker. He spoke on the Soviet Seven Year Plan. He predicted that in the Soviet Union there would soon be no difference between town and country and that the different "Republics" of the Soviet Union would merge, Russian, Ukrainian, Turman, etc. And that soon the "People's Democracies" of Eastern Europe would also merge with them. At the end of the Seven Year Plan, said Roman, Soviet production would match that of the U.S. At that time the Communists would no longer be in favor of "Peaceful Co-Existence". After the Soviet Union overtakes the U.S., the Capitalist nations will commit suicide or otherwise fall into the hands of the workers.

When interrogated respecting the meeting as to whether he was a member of the Communist Party at the time of the meeting, under whose auspices the meeting was held and who was in attendance at the meeting, Mr. Roman refused to answer on the ground that it might incriminate him, but commented regarding his remarks as follows:

I said that the peoples of the Soviet Union, 87 nations and nationalities, have been welded together under the state of the working class in the Soviet Union, and they have forced unity and they are marching together.

For instance, the Soviet nationalities and nations that were very backward at one time now are an integral part of the Soviet state, respected as citizens, with full rights—economic, political, and otherwise—in contrast with my own country, Puerto Rico, which is the most oppressed nation in the Western Hemisphere. The fact is that all Latin Americans exist as oppressed nations under the heel of American imperialism. That is one thing I said. Let me continue.

I also said that, as a result of the attainment and achievement of the 7-year plan, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries would surpass the per capita production of all the capitalist world and that, as a result, the capitalist imperialists would have no recourse but die as a result of a war that they would start or explode as a result of economic pressure that would occur.

I also said at that time when I spoke there, and I am telling you what I said. I am not pulling any punches, I am responsible for what I say and I said it. I also said that the Latin American peoples have joined together with the whole colonial peoples of the world and refuse to be chattels any more for any imperialism, not even American imperialism. That I said.

There was displayed to Mr. Roman a copy of the Communist Daily Worker of June 25, 1957, in which Armando Roman is described as a Puerto Rican Communist leader in New York City, but Mr. Roman refused to comment on the article on the ground that his answer might tend to incriminate him. He likewise refused to answer whether he was at the time of the hearing a member of the Communist Party.

William Lorenzo Patterson appeared in response to a subpoena. Although Mr. Patterson was requested to identify himself by name, residence, and occupation and was asked whether, in the course of the recent past, he made a trip to San Juan, Puerto Rico, in behalf of the Communist Party, his only response was to challenge the jurisdiction of the committee.

Richard Levins appeared in response to a subpoena and testified that he was a graduate student of genetics at Columbia University. He refused to answer all other questions and subsequently withdrew from the hearing on the ground, among others, that a quorum was not present during his testimony.

Jose Santiago appeared in response to a subpoena and identified himself as a "blacklisted diamond cutter." There was read to Mr. Santiago excerpts from a report of a meeting held in New York City on May 1, 1959, in which directives were revealed from the Communist operation in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and in which meeting the following was reported to have occurred:

Santiago stated that the Puerto Rican Liberation Front had about 2000 members and had a chapter in New York. * * * He calls for a united front of negro and white workers, and stated that the 3rd Congress for Puerto Rican Independence would take place this Fall, and that unity of the Puerto Rican workers and peasant was developing and would lead to the same sort of success that has been gained in the Cuban Revolution.

This report further quoted Santiago as saying:

There are two things that are a cause for hope, the help of the Soviet Union for the colonial people, and the Cuban Revolution. * * * the Cuban Revolutionary Movement leaders did not heed the Communist warnings until late in the game, but when they did heed the Communists, the 6,000 members of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba provided the leadership for the fight against BATISTA.

Mr. Santiago refused to answer questions respecting the meeting or with respect to his present membership in the Communist Party on the ground that it might tend to incriminate him.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY AND PUERTO RICO

(New York City—Part 1)

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1959

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
New York, N.Y.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m. in Courtroom 36, United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City, Hon. William M. Tuck (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives William M. Tuck, of Virginia, and Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; George C. Williams and William Margetich, investigators; and Fulton Lewis III, research analyst.

Also present: Donald F. Barnes, senior interpreter, United States Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Mr. TUCK. The subcommittee will be in order.

The hearings which begin today in New York City and will be continued in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on November 18, 1959, will deal in general with the subject of interlocking Communist activities among Puerto Rican nationality groups in New York City and in Puerto Rico.

At the outset, may I disclaim any notion that the Committee on Un-American Activities is investigating Puerto Ricans en masse. It is our duty to investigate Communists and Communist activities, and we follow these trails wherever they may lead.

When the Communist trails lead into educational institutions, Communists and Communist apologists proclaim that the Committee on Un-American Activities is investigating education. When these trails lead into labor unions, they then proclaim that the committee is investigating organized labor. When we pursue the trails of spies operating out of the diplomatic establishments of the Iron Curtain countries, the committee is accused of investigating embassies and consulates.

This type of perversion of the work of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives will not dissuade us from our duty.

We seek only the facts. In so far as it is within the power of this committee, as a part of the United States Congress, we shall obtain the facts and we shall do so within the framework of carefully prescribed procedures of justice and fair play.

The hearings which begin today in New York City are in furtherance of the powers and duties of the Committee on Un-American Activities pursuant to Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress, which not only establishes the basic jurisdiction of the committee, but also mandates this committee, along with other standing committees of the Congress, to exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the committee.

In response to this power and duty, the Committee on Un-American Activities is continuously in the process of accumulating factual information respecting Communists, the Communist Party, and Communist activities which will enable the committee and the Congress to appraise the administration and operation of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and numerous provisions of the Criminal Code relating to espionage, sabotage, and subversion. In addition, the committee has before it numerous proposals to strengthen our legislative weapons designed to protect the internal security of this Nation.

I shall now read the resolution of the Committee on Un-American Activities authorizing and directing the holding of the instant hearings:

BE IT RESOLVED, that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities or a subcommittee thereof, to be held in Puerto Rico, in New York City, and elsewhere as the Chairman may direct, on such date or dates as the Chairman may determine, be authorized and approved, including the conduct of investigations deemed reasonably necessary by the staff in preparation therefor, relating to the following matters and having the legislative purposes indicated:

1. Entry and dissemination in Puerto Rico of foreign Communist Party propaganda, the legislative purpose being to determine the necessity for, and advisability of amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act designed more effectively to counteract the Communist schemes and devices now used in avoiding the prohibitions of the Act;

2. Receipt of information relating to persons engaged in foreign travel, the legislative purpose being:

- (a) Committee consideration of amendments to Sec. 215 of the Immigration and Nationality Act as contained in Title IX—Immigration and Passport Security—of H.R. 2232, introduced on January 12, 1959, and referred by the House of Representatives to the Committee on Un-American Activities;

- (b) Consideration of legislative recommendations expressing the will and intent of Congress spelled out in direct and positive form, granting authority to the Secretary of State to issue, withhold, or limit passports for international travel of adherents to the Communist Party, and the granting of specific statutory authority, to the Secretary of State to issue substantive regulations in the passport field, as set forth in the annual reports of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the years 1956-1958.

3. The extent, character and objects of Communist infiltration and Communist Party propaganda activities in Puerto Rico, the legislative purpose being to add to the Committee's overall knowledge on the subject so that the Congress may be kept informed and thus prepared to enact remedial legislation in the national defense and for internal security.

4. The execution by the administrative agencies concerned of all laws and regulations relating to the Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, Passport Regulations, and all other laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the Committee, the legislative purpose being to exercise continuous watchfulness over the execu-

tion of these laws to assist the Congress in appraising their administration, and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary.

5. Any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it, or any subcommittee hereof appointed to conduct these hearings may designate.

I shall now read the order of appointment of the subcommittee to conduct these hearings, made by Chairman Francis E. Walter:

OCTOBER 6, 1959.

To: Mr. Richard Arens, staff director, House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Representative William M. Tuck, as Chairman, and Representatives Morgan M. Moulder and Gordon H. Scherer as associate members, to conduct hearings in New York, New York, Monday and Tuesday, November 16 and 17, 1959, at 10:00 a.m., and in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, November 18, 19, and 20, 1959, at 10:00 a.m., on subjects under investigation by the Committee and take such testimony on said days or succeeding days, as it may deem necessary.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any Member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 6th day of October 1959.

FRANCIS E. WALTER,

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.

Preliminary investigation by the staff indicates that the Communist conspiracy is attempting to penetrate Puerto Rican nationality groups in New York City and to establish conduits between these groups in the United States and Communist conspiratorial operations in Puerto Rico.

We are confident that the overwhelming majority of Puerto Ricans are loyal and patriotic, but the power of the Communist conspiracy stems not from numbers, but from the dedication and zeal of the few disciplined conspirators who wield an influence far disproportionate to their numbers in the total war which communism is waging against freedom everywhere.

It is a standing rule of this committee that any person identified as a member of the Communist Party during the course of the committee hearings will be given an early opportunity to appear before this committee, if he desires, for the purpose of denying or explaining any testimony adversely affecting him.

It is also the policy of the committee to accord any witness the privilege of being represented by counsel; but, strictly within the provisions of the rules of this committee, counsel's sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise his client and not to testify or make motions.

I would remind those present that a disturbance of any kind or an audible comment during the hearings will not be permitted. This is a serious proceeding, in which we are earnestly trying to discharge an important and arduous duty with the general objective of maintaining the security of this great United States of America.

The staff director will proceed to call the first witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, before calling the first witness, if it meets with the pleasure of the chairman, I should like to cause to be incorporated by reference in this record certain documents which are Communist publications reflecting the design which the international Communist conspiracy has on Puerto Rican nationality groups in the United States, and upon the island of Puerto Rico.

The first 2 documents, excerpts of which I should like to cause to be inserted by reference in this record, are copies of Moscow Radio broadcasts beginning back in November of 1950 which were monitored by a United States Government agency. In these broadcasts, the Moscow Radio charges that Puerto Rico is the victim of American oppression and imperialism.

In these broadcasts, references are made to what the Moscow Radio regards as the police suppression of people in Puerto Rico, with the apparent, avowed design to deprive Puerto Ricans of certain rights. In this broadcast, or in these series of broadcasts which I am asking to be incorporated by reference in this record are contentions of slave-state existences, of mass unemployment, of merciless oppression by American imperialism, and the like.

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

The next document which I should like to cause to be incorporated by reference in this record are copies of statements issued by Political Affairs, which is a well known Communist publication, regarded as the theoretical organ of the Communist Party. In Political Affairs of February 1951 begin a series of articles indicating the degree to which the Communist conspiracy covets the Puerto Ricans. The February 1951 article, entitled "The Rising Tide of Struggle in Puerto Rico," is written by Cesar Andreu who identifies himself as the Chairman, Communist Party of Puerto Rico. It is the transcript of Andreu's speech at the 15th Convention of the Communist Party of America. He lists himself and Juan Santos Rivera as Puerto Rican delegates to that convention. The speech is a bitter attack against United States "imperialism" and against American "aggression" in Korea. The article of November 1954, entitled "Free the Puerto Rican Smith-Act Victims!" is evidence of the degree to which the Communist conspiracy is attempting, and has been attempting through the years, to let loose its artillery barrage of propaganda in order to soften up the victims of its regime.

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Next I should like to cause to be incorporated by reference, copy of an article appearing in Political Affairs, November 1955. This article contains a statement by a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, who has been subpoenaed to testify before our committee at its forthcoming hearings in a few days in San Juan.

This article charges that the United States has established a regime in Puerto Rico based on force and violence and that the United States is suppressing the people of Puerto Rico.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

The next excerpts which I should like to cause to be incorporated by reference in this record, showing the designs of the Communist conspiracy on Puerto Ricans and upon Puerto Rico, are copies of articles from the Communist Daily Worker and The Worker, published here in the United States, in which it is alleged that concepts of justice, equality, and fraternity for people of Puerto Rico are mockery; that justice there is a farce, and the like. These articles appeared in the Jan. 2, 1956 (p. 6) issue of the Daily Worker and the

Dec. 7, 1958 (p. 10) issue of *The Worker*, respectively, and both were written by Jesus Colon.

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Next I should like to cause to be inserted by reference in the record excerpts from a publication of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico. This publication is entitled "Pueblo." The first is the issue of October 1958 which lets loose a propaganda barrage that the United States is an imperialistic oppressor and exploiter of the Puerto Rican people.

The next is an article from the same publication, the issue of December 1958, in which appears an editorial commending the visit of the Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Washington to Puerto Rico, and whose visit, whose objectives, whose motives, whose arrangements, were highly commended.

In this same publication, to which I have just alluded, is an article referring to a new publication being developed by the Communists entitled "La Paz."

Finally, I should like, if it meets with the pleasure of the chairman, to cause to be inserted by reference in this record another copy of an excerpt from the Communist publication *Pueblo* of January 1959, again revealing Communist designs on Puerto Ricans and upon the island of Puerto Rico. It also reveals the interlocking relationship between this publication and the *Daily Worker* in the United States, because articles from the *Daily Worker* published in the United States, which is a Communist paper, appear in *Pueblo* and authors or the writers for the Communist *Daily Worker* for the United States have their columns reproduced in *Pueblo*.

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the articles to which I have alluded and which I have tried to summarize be incorporated at this point by reference in our record.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair orders and directs that the documents and newspaper articles so described and identified by the director be incorporated by reference as exhibits in the record of proceedings of these hearings.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, if it meets with your pleasure, I respectfully suggest that the first witness to be called is Mr. Buteneff, of the United States Customs Service.

Would you kindly come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you?

Mr. TUCK. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee of the United States House of Representatives will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BUTENEFF. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SERGEI BUTENEFF

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Buteneff, will you kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. BUTENEFF. My name is Sergei Buteneff. I am a resident of New York City. I am employed by the United States Customs in the

capacity of a supervisor of the office through which all the material coming from behind the Iron Curtain goes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Buteneff, how long have you been engaged in this activity?

Mr. BUTENEFF. I have been engaged in this activity approximately 7 years.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have in your possession now typical examples or illustrations of Communist propaganda coming from behind the Iron Curtain which has been observed by the U.S. Customs Service here in New York City?

Mr. BUTENEFF. Yes, sir; I do. Of course, these are just part of the samples, mostly concerned with Spanish language, but these are the typical samples we see going through our office.

Mr. ARENS. Would you give us a word about the titles of these publications?

Mr. BUTENEFF. We have here Soviet literature in Spanish. We have the labor union magazine from Bulgaria. We have the woman's magazine called "The Soviet Woman," coming from Russia—also in Spanish.

Mr. ARENS. All of these publications to which your attention is now directed are in Spanish; is that correct?

Mr. BUTENEFF. That is correct; yes.

We also have the magazine called "New Times—Tiempos Nuevos," which is a publication printed in many languages, and these are the copies in Spanish.

Also, we have numerous publications which are student publications, the World Youth News, which is also in Spanish, but which is published in many languages. Again, we have a bulletin of the World Council of Peace, also in Spanish, which also is printed in other languages.

We have the magazine called the "Soviet Union," which is also published in many languages, but these are also Spanish copies.

Besides the periodical magazines and dailies or weeklies, there are also pamphlets which now and then arrive through New York, and actually the subject of which is really hard to describe. I mean, it could be on any particular issue of the day—any political issue.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Buteneff, this Communist propaganda, illustrations of which you have presented to the committee, is destined principally to the Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican bloc in New York City; is that correct?

Mr. BUTENEFF. I would say so; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Some of it also goes through the United States in transit, does it not?

Mr. BUTENEFF. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What is the ultimate destination of that material which is going in transit?

Mr. BUTENEFF. Most of it, of course, goes to Puerto Rico, through New York, and then also to South America.

Mr. ARENS. As you know, Mr. Fishman, who is your immediate supervisor, will be testifying in Puerto Rico in another 2 or 3 days, giving the specifics on this material and the statistics. Without at this time undertaking to trespass upon the territory which he will cover

in his testimony, may I ask you: Is this Communist propaganda which is destined and directed at the Puerto Rican nationality bloc in New York City of significant, substantial volume?

Mr. BUTENEFF. Yes; it is.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever seen a single copy of this Communist propaganda destined to the Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican nationality bloc in the United States which has been labeled at the port of entry in accordance with the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. BUTENEFF. No, sir; I have not.

Mr. ARENS. And you have been with the Customs Service how long?

Mr. BUTENEFF. For almost 8 years; 7 years, I should say.

Mr. ARENS. You understand, of course, Mr. Fishman will likewise get into that subject matter. I do not want at this time to trespass upon the specifics of his testimony.

Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will be the only area that we will want to cover with Mr. Buteneff at this time.

Mr. TUCK. Have you any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Do you read Spanish?

Mr. BUTENEFF. No, sir; I don't read Spanish. I understand it, because I understand many Latin languages, like French, Italian, and so on.

Mr. ARENS. May I suggest that the next witness is a translator who is prepared to give us an English translation of the essence of this particular propaganda.

Mr. TUCK. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. Donald F. Barnes.

Before he is sworn, may I make an observation and then a request? Mr. Barnes, Mr. Chairman, is a translator of Spanish into English, and English into Spanish. We expect in the course of these hearings that there will be some witnesses who will not speak English. So I respectfully suggest that you administer two oaths to Mr. Barnes, first an oath in the customary form to testify to the truth on his own testimony and, secondly, a translator's oath which will carry forward with reference to the testimony of other witnesses who will only speak Spanish.

Mr. TUCK. Will the witness be sworn? Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BARNES. I do.

Mr. TUCK. Do you further solemnly swear that you will truly and accurately interpret into the Spanish language the questions propounded by the committee or a member of its staff and that you will make a true and accurate interpretation into the English language of the replies made by the witness in the Spanish language, so help you God?

Mr. BARNES. I do.

Mr. SCHERER. May we ask that Mr. Buteneff sit next to Mr. Barnes? We may have questions to ask.

TESTIMONY OF DONALD F. BARNES

(SENIOR INTERPRETER, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D.C.)

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. BARNES. My name is Donald F. Barnes. I reside in Washington, D.C., and I am a senior interpreter in the U.S. Department of State.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so engaged?

Mr. BARNES. I have been engaged in language work for about 9 years, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Barnes, did you, at the request of the Committee on Un-American Activities, make a study of certain documents, magazines, and other publications published in Spanish?

Mr. BARNES. I did.

Mr. ARENS. Are those documents before you at the present time?

Mr. BARNES. Yes, sir; they are.

Mr. ARENS. Those are the same documents which Mr. Buteneff described as documents which were observed as typical illustrations of what he has described as a substantial volume of Communist propaganda destined to the Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican group in New York City; is that correct?

Mr. BARNES. Yes; they are.

Mr. ARENS. Were you requested by the staff of the Committee on Un-American Activities to prepare yourself to give us a brief, succinct, résumé of the content of these various documents?

Mr. BARNES. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. ARENS. Would you then, please, sir, at your own pace, proceed to testify with regard to the principal publications which have been identified as Communist Spanish publications?

Mr. BARNES. Yes, sir. I will take a few at random, if I may, just to illustrate what they are all about.

This one is entitled "Soviet Union," issue No. 111. It is a monthly magazine. It has no subscription price or newsstand price. It announces that it is published in a number of languages. It has in it articles—for instance, a string of great achievements, and right at the beginning you have an article on the visit of the president of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea to Premier Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union; announcements of the Lenin prizes given to Soviet scientists; articles on the Soviet aviation industry, on Soviet industry and agriculture, on Soviet cultural achievements, Soviet fashions and athletics, and humor.

Mr. SCHERER. Does that magazine to which you just referred have any advertising in it at all?

Mr. BARNES. No, sir; it does not.

This next one is a bulletin of the World Peace Council, published in the sixth year. It has no subscription price, no advertising. I haven't been able to detect a city of origin or publication. It has an article on disarmament, on the visit of the Soviet chief of state to the United States, an article opposing nuclear tests in the Sahara.

Mr. ARENS. What is the essence of the article appearing in this Communist publication respecting the visit of Khrushchev to the United States?

Mr. BARNES. Well, it considers that it was a visit of great importance and that the bad indications that preceded that visit were in vain, because it says Mr. Khrushchev's visit was a success, not only for himself—who is a man praised by the majority of the U.S. newspapermen—but also for the people of the Soviet Union and for the people of the United States, and, finally, in general, for all peoples and for peace.

It says the American people wish for peace, as do other peoples, and therefore the suggestions made by the president or the head of the American Russian Institute of San Francisco or of the citizens of New York who have greeted Mr. Khrushchev with the cry "Long live peace," have had more success than the agitation of certain people who want the cold war to be extended.

Then it goes on to express support of a disarmament plan consisting of five points: A zone of control and inspection in Western Europe and reduction of foreign troops stationed there, the creation of a demilitarized zone in Central Europe, withdrawal of the armed forces from all bases on other countries' territory, the signing of a nonaggression pact between the members of NATO and those who signed the Warsaw Pact, and signing of an agreement to prevent surprise attacks.

This one is entitled "Youth of the World." It is published in Budapest, Hungary, with its public relations and distribution center in Berlin. It does not indicate which sector of Berlin. It is published in several languages. It is the world youth organization publication.

The first article that I see is the Vienna Festival, "A Success for Peace and Friendship." It has articles and pictures of various people who attended this congress, which was held in Vienna.

We have an article on the German writer Schiller, "Knitting the Two Germanies." Going back to the Vienna Festival, it has the headline of "100,000 Persons in the March of Peace and Friendship."

There is a signed note—printed, but from a signed facsimile, apparently—by Mr. Paul Robeson, "With Best Wishes to the Congress." There are articles on various nationalities and racial groups and how they got along together in this congress held in Vienna.

It also has a list on the last page of what you might call "pen pals," people who wish to correspond with people of other countries and the subjects they would like to discuss, with the names and addresses of these people.

The next one, Mr. Chairman, is New Times, the translation of the title Tiempos Nuevos, called a weekly magazine on foreign policy. This is called the edition of the newspaper Trud, from Moscow, which comes out in eight or ten languages. It is printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It gives the places where you can subscribe to this magazine, without giving a price. There is no advertising in it.

This has a series of articles "Let Us Make Our Swords Into Plows," "The War Projections of the Visit of Nikita Khrushchev to the United States," and a series of articles—I will read the titles briefly, unless you wish to go into them further—"Khrushchev Has Inaugurated a New Period of Peaceful Cooperation," "The Great Powers Cannot Refuse These Offers, These Proposals," "Point of Departure for Future Negotiations," the next one is by a Finnish writer "As a Representative of a Smaller Nation."

These quotations are from a number of sources, including Bertrand Russell and even Members of the United States Congress, but they are short quotations.

There is an article about European integration in the small countries, and one "Latin America in Search of a New Policy." If I may just read a line from this:

For a long time, the Latin American rulers have followed Washington with docility. The majority of these countries were enslaved by Yankee monopolies. The Organization of American States was founded in 1948 at the prodding of Washington.

There is another article concerning travel to the moon or rockets to the moon.

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon me just a minute. You were referring to the article in the magazine relating to the exploitation of South American countries by the United States.

Is there anything else in that article that might interest us, particularly in view of what is happening in the Caribbean and South America today?

Mr. BARNES. In this one article, which I picked out at random, it says:

The desire of Latin America to follow an independent foreign policy is being seen day by day in its relations with the United States,

and then the passage which I read a while back.

Mr. SCHERER. Repeat that.

Mr. BARNES. [Reading:]

For a long time, the Latin American rulers have followed Washington with docility. The majority of these countries were enslaved by Yankee monopolies. The Organization of American States was founded in 1948 at the prodding of Washington. Official propaganda represented it as the personification of the theory of national solidarity of the countries of the Western Hemisphere, which was very much in style in those years, but that theory was false. In reality, this new organization was nothing more than a means of the subjugation of the peoples of Latin America by the monopolies from the north. Behind that screen, the Department of State interfered in the internal affairs of the signatory nations to snuff out the least sign of independence. The OAS also had the mission of protecting dictatorial regimes installed with the assistance of Yankee monopolies and the Department of State. But it made no move in the face of the bloody reprisals which the democratic government of Guatemala suffered.

Mr. SCHERER. Thank you.

Mr. BARNES. This is another edition of New Times. It has a further analysis of the visit of Mr. Khrushchev to the United States; an analysis of the space situation; ideas on disarmament; an article criticizing the government attitude in the strikes in Argentina; and one note on the recent meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Central Treaty Organization, called a rusty link; Congo clamors for its liberty.

This next one is called "Soviet Woman." It says it is published by the Committee of Soviet Women and the Central Council of Soviet Unions, 15th year, published in a number of languages. There is no subscription price that I can see or newsstand price. There is no advertising.

These are articles of interest to women. There is a brief note on the first page of the visit of former President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico to the Soviet Union; in defense of all the children of the earth—

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt?

Mr. BARNES. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. You mentioned, Mr. Witness, that two of the publications you are examining had no advertising. Do you have approximately two dozen publications before you?

Mr. BARNES. About a dozen, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. What about the previous ones, Mr. Barnes?

Mr. BARNES. These are pamphlets. I haven't seen any advertising in any of these.

Mr. SCHERER. Do any of the publications before you contain any advertising?

Mr. BARNES. No, sir; not that I have seen.

Do you wish me to continue?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. While you have hesitated in your presentation, may I pose a question, too, please sir?

Do you see, or have you seen, on any of these publications any labeling, as the law requires, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act that this is propaganda?

Mr. BARNES. No, sir; I have not.

This is called "Bulgarian Unions, publication of the Central Council of Bulgarian Unions," dated December 1959—the lead editorial "Fifteen Years of Free Unions," referring to unions in the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria in the last 15 years; pictures of a coal mine and an atomic energy plant, metallurgy. They are mostly pictures with a few figures on production and consumption—production, rather, of various articles, including consumer goods; rural economy, national income, culture, recreation, playgrounds, safety devices in factories, workers dining halls, libraries for workers, amateur artistic events, international connections or links with Bulgarian unions, culture and sports.

These five magazines are entitled "Soviet Literature." It is a monthly publication. It bears the name "Moscow" on the cover. It has, again, no advertising that I can discern. It is called the "organ of the Writers Union of the Soviet Union."

There is fiction; poetry; a series of articles on the Third Congress of Soviet Writers, including an address to that Congress by Mr. Khrushchev; literature and art; articles on letters from writers and artists; book reviews; magazine reviews; short articles on cultural life; and short biographies of some of the writers; plus a few reproductions of paintings and prints.

These five are all the same. They are various editions of this same magazine.

This last batch of pamphlets, all of these with the blue and white cover, are entitled "The Woman in the Bulgarian Peoples Republic." It is published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Bulgaria, in Sofia, and bears no advertising and no price.

Here is an article about how happy women are in Bulgaria. There is a final one from the same publishing house, Foreign Languages Publishing House in Bulgaria, report by Comrade—well, his name is full of consonants—before the third regular session of the National Assembly on the speeding up of the developments of the national economy, on the improvement of the material and cultural situation

of the people, and on the reorganization of state and economic direction.

It gives no further identification. It doesn't say what the National Assembly is. It gives the speech following the outlines of the title that I have read.

Mr. TUCK. Do you have any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Barnes, I believe you said you are the senior translator for Spanish in the Department of State?

Mr. BARNES. My title is senior interpreter; yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know whether there are any appreciable number of Spanish-speaking people in the Soviet Union?

Mr. BARNES. No, sir; I don't know anything about that. I did notice that in some of these, in Soviet Literature, for example, the articles are originally written in Russian, apparently, and translated by people with Spanish names. But that might not mean anything.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know any Spanish-speaking country that is now designated as an Iron Curtain country?

Mr. BARNES. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, since a number of those articles which the witness referred to deal with the effect that the recent visit of Mr. Khrushchev had in the United States and throughout the world, I think it would be appropriate to include in the record of these hearings at this time an editorial from the New York Daily News of November 9th. This article entitled "The Crimes of Khrushchev," discusses a publication of this committee by the same title which was recently issued in four parts.

If there are no objections, Mr. Chairman, I would like to have this editorial introduced at this point as part of the record.

Mr. TUCK. The editorial will be incorporated at this point as part of the exhibits in the record of these hearings.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 6" follows:)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 6

"THE CRIMES OF KHRUSHCHEV"

In this interval between N. S. Khrushchev's visit to the United States and President Eisenhower's planned visit to Soviet Russia, most of official Washington is doing its best to keep any unkind remarks from being made about Khrushchev by any American.



Rep. Francis E. Walter
(D-Pa.)

For instance, the State Department has ordered the Voice of America and the U.S. Information Agency to stop speaking of the "free world" or the "free nations," and how do you like that?

One powerful organization in Washington refuses to go along with this official plot to batter up the Butcher of Hungary and the Ukraine.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities—chairman, Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.)—goes right on digging into the doings of Reds and fellow travelers here and abroad, and making its findings public. The committee's latest big achievement in this line was a recent—

SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS

—with qualified witnesses on the life and deeds of the man who was recently wined and dined in this country by a lot of unusually decent Americans.

Among the witnesses were a number of refugees, now in the United States, from Kremlin-enslaved Ukraine, Hungary, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Bloody. Some of the crimes these persons planned **Tyrant** on Khrushchev:

Murder by starvation, in 1933-35, of between 5 and 7 million Ukrainians peasants who opposed Communism—Khrushchev then being Josef Stalin's personal in the Ukraine.

Betrayal to tortures or death of numerous Ukrainian leaders in the big Russia-wide purge of 1936.

Mass deportation of Ukrainians after the German armies had been pushed out of that part of Russia in 1944.

Continuation of slave labor camps on a huge scale.

Persistent efforts to stamp out patriotism in Latvia and Lithuania, and successful suppression of all freedom in these Baltic countries, by terrorist methods.

Slaughter by Red troops of 30,000 men, women and children in the 1956 Hungarian uprising . . . execution of 2,500 . . . deportation of 12,000 to Russia . . . consignment of 15,000 to forced labor camps in Hungary . . . continuation of a reign of terror in Hungary to this day.

We'd say Khrushchev's—

FOULEST SINGLE CRIME

—was the jailing and execution of Hungarian leaders Imre Nagy and Pal Maléter, after a solemn promise to negotiate a truce and end the 1956 fighting in Hungary.

This is the same Khrushchev who now talks of "peaceful coexistence" and says no nation should interfere with another nation's domestic affairs.

"Disciple of Machiavelli" Why does Khrushchev thus change his tune from year to year? Says ex-Budapest Mayor Joseph Kovago: "I think that Khrushchev is the best disciple of Machiavelli, because if his own interest dictates it, he will kill; while he finds it useful, he will smile, will kiss children, will shake hands and show a good face."

The abovenamed House committee has published its findings in four booklets under the title "The Crimes of Khrushchev." Inquiries about getting copies should be addressed to U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

How did Soviet Russia get so strong, and become the menace to the entire world that it is today? For a large part of the answer to that question, see—

A NEW BOOK

—called "Roosevelt's Road to Russia," by George N. Crocker; Henry Regnery Co., Chicago; 312 pages, 3 illustrations, \$5.

Mr. Crocker tells in detail the story of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's flirtations with Soviet Russia during World War II.

Roosevelt And Russia The book climaxes with the Yalta conference early in 1945, where Roosevelt, with Winston Churchill stringing along, bought Stalin's promise to enter the war against Japan by agreeing to most of the postwar land-grabs on which the Red Slave Empire is founded.

Crocker's book is recommended to all who want to know how some important recent history really happened—not how Roosevelt's worshippers wish it had happened.

Mr. ARENS. We have no further questions of Mr. Barnes.

Mr. TUCK. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness will be Detective Mildred Blauvelt, of the New York City Police Department.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask another question before the next witness?

Mr. TUCK. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. These magazines, which are a sample of many that have come into the country recently through the mail, are they addressed to individuals or to distributors in this country, Mr. Buteneff?

Mr. BUTENEFF. Both, sir. I would say there are some of both. The bulk is actually to individuals, and there are some packages containing several copies to distributors.

Mr. SCHERER. Does your investigation disclose whether or not the individuals who received these publications have subscribed for them, or whether they are sent to them free of charge or without their solicitation?

Mr. BUTENEFF. It would be very hard for me to say, sir, right now. I haven't looked into this particular Spanish part of my work. Maybe Mr. Fishman would be more prepared to speak about the statistics on that.

Mr. SCHERER. Very well.

Mr. TUCK. Come forward, please, Mrs. Blauvelt.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you?

Mr. TUCK. You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee of the House of Representatives will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MILDRED BLAUVELT

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I am Detective Mildred Blauvelt, of the New York City Police Department, assigned to the Bureau of Special Services. I reside in the Borough of Brooklyn, the City of New York.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been connected with the Police Department of New York City?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I was appointed to the Police Department in December of 1942.

Mr. ARENS. Detective Blauvelt, you have, on a previous occasion, testified before this Committee on Un-American Activities on another subject matter, at which time you gave considerable detail about your own life and activities as a one-time undercover agent in the Communist Party.

In order to avoid unnecessary duplication, I should like to have you now, if you please, give us a brief account of your career as an undercover agent in the Communist Party.

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I was assigned by the Police Department to become an undercover operative in the Communist Party in the beginning of 1943. I became a member of the Communist Party on the Upper West Side in Manhattan in April of 1943.

I was expelled from that section of the party in September of 1943, but gained reentrance into the Communist Party in Brooklyn in April of 1944, and remained there until my expulsion in November of 1951.

Mr. ARENS. What name did you use, or did you use a pseudonym, to gain entrance into the party?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. During my first period in the Communist Party I used the alias of Mildred Brandt, and during my second session with the party I used the alias of Sylvia Vogel.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your career as an undercover operative in the Communist Party, you were a member of the Jay-Smith Club of the Boro Hall Section of Brooklyn, were you not?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Was La Pasionaria Club a part of the Boro Hall Section?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes, it was, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word of description about the La Pasionaria Club.

Mrs. BLAUVELT. The La Pasionaria Club was one of the clubs in the Boro Hall Section of the Communist Party in Brooklyn. It was composed of the Puerto Rican comrades in the Brooklyn party in the Boro Hall Section.

Mr. ARENS. Now may I proceed to interrogate you, if you please, with respect to the attempts and efforts and achievements of the Communist conspiracy to organize the Puerto Ricans?

First of all, through what means does the Communist conspiracy attempt to organize the Puerto Ricans?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. The Communist Party attempts to organize the Puerto Ricans through what it calls its "concentrations." According to Communist definition, a "concentration" is a Leninist method of work, that is, party activities are to be conducted in specified areas, such as working-class areas, nationality groups, racial groups, and so on, for the purpose of propagandizing the party line. An area where the majority of the residents is Puerto Rican presents itself as a concentration to the Communist Party because here, in a designated area, the party will find practically all of the elements upon which it can spew its propaganda of the class struggle.

Here the party finds the working-class group, the low-income group, and those on relief. Because of the fact that they are a Spanish-speaking people, they take on the aspects of a nationality group, and because of the fact that they are, as a whole, just a small part of our population, they become a minority group.

With this combination in their social and economic status, the party hopes to convince them that they are being exploited, and thus nurture the seeds of discontent so that they will turn to the party as the defender of their human rights and as the only organization, according to party representations, which is interested in their welfare—their welfare for jobs, higher wages, and equality for all.

Mr. ARENS. Detective Blauvelt, I should have asked you earlier, but in addition to the information which you have acquired as an undercover operative in the Communist Party with intimate connections with the Puerto Rican group of Communists working among the Puerto Rican nationality group in New York, do you, in your daily work in this bureau of the Police Department, dedicate your-

self to the acquiring of information about Communists and Communist activities from day to day?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes, sir; that continues to be my assignment. It is a continual process.

Mr. ARENS. It is your assignment now?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How does the Communist Party carry out its activities among the Puerto Ricans?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Party activity among the Puerto Ricans is conducted through the technique of agit-prop.

Mr. ARENS. What is meant by "agit-prop"?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Agit-prop is the tactic of first educating the people how to think on a particular issue and then agitating them into taking specific action.

Issues around which activity is conducted include the basic issues of their daily living, such as housing, rents, wages, prices, the so-called issues of civil rights, and the issue of peace. The activity, itself, takes the form of the distribution of leaflets and the circulation of petitions on issues of particular concern to the party; sending delegations to Washington or to other authorities on housing, rent and price controls; holding demonstrations; canvassing with the worker to disseminate the party line and to secure subscriptions; and conducting election campaigns for candidates approved by the party.

Mr. ARENS. Based upon your background and experience, both as a former undercover operative in the Communist Party here, and now as a detective whose daily job is acquiring information about Communist activities and techniques, may I ask you this:

Is the Communist Party sincerely interested in better housing for Puerto Ricans, sincerely and honestly interested in higher wages, sincerely and honestly interested in peace, or does the Communist Party use these issues for the purpose of gaining support, gaining penetration of this group?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. The party has no real sympathy with these people. It is using them for its own purposes, for its own propaganda purposes. It wishes to recruit them into the party, and if it can't do that, it wants to use them to gain support for any of its propaganda campaigns for the purposes of the party, to project the aims of the party.

Mr. ARENS. How did you learn of the Communist Party's attempts to organize the Puerto Ricans?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. It was during my membership in the Communist Party as an undercover operative for the New York City Police Department that I learned of the party's attempt to reach or organize the Puerto Ricans living in the various parts of the city and particularly in the Boro Hall Section of Brooklyn where there is a large Puerto Rican community.

Mr. ARENS. What is the importance to the world Communist conspiracy of this Puerto Rican concentration to the party?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. The party uses such a concentration to develop its own objectives to get these people into the party proper, and to use them to influence others to follow the party line.

I became aware of the importance with which this La Pasionaria Club and this Puerto Rican concentration was regarded by the Boro

Hall Section when I first went into the Boro Hall Section. I was transferred there in June of 1947. I attended my first meeting there on June 20, and it was at this meeting that I learned that the La Pasionaria Club was composed of the Puerto Rican comrades and had the specific task of disseminating Communist propaganda among the Puerto Rican people living in the neighborhood.

This particular meeting was chaired by a woman member from the La Pasionaria Club.

MR. ARENS. Detective Blauvelt, it has been the experience of this committee during its years of studying the Communist operation in the United States that the effectiveness of the Communist work bears no direct relationship to members; that within any group or entity or area, if the Communist Party can establish a relatively small but highly disciplined and dedicated core of zealots, it can accomplish its objectives more effectively than if it has a mass group of people who are less dedicated, less disciplined, and less active.

Is that the situation from your experience within the Puerto Rican nationality group in New York City?

MRS. BLAUVELT. Yes; I would say so. The party was concerned sometimes not so much in gaining these people as party members, but in gaining their support, because the sheer weight of numbers in support of any propaganda campaign on the part of the party would give the impression that this was the actual will of the people, and thus implement and project the aims of the party.

MR. ARENS. In other words, from your experience as a student of the Communist penetration of Puerto Rican groups in New York City, is it true that the party has not actually solicited bulk numbers within the Communist conspiratorial operations, itself, but only solicited the support on individual issues which the Communist Party was developing? Is that correct?

MRS. BLAUVELT. Yes; that is quite correct.

MR. ARENS. How is the party work in this Puerto Rican concentration financed?

MRS. BLAUVELT. The activity in the Puerto Rican concentration was financed by the finances of the Boro Hall Section. This fact was established at a meeting of the functionaries of the clubs in the Boro Hall Section which I attended on March 28, 1949, when Caryll Lasky, the section's financial secretary, discussed the finances of the section, and stated that a great deal of money would go into the activities of press and leaflet distributions in the Puerto Rican concentration.

Previous to this meeting, the Boro Hall Section had held a meeting at the beginning of the month, actually on March 1, 1949. This was at the time when the Communist Party had decided upon a complete reorganization based on industrial units. The Boro Hall Section held this meeting for the purpose of informing the membership as to the particular application of this reorganization to the Boro Hall Section.

Bea Sacks, who was one of the executive members of the Kings County Committee and who was acting as the organizational director of the Boro Hall Section, informed the comrades that it had been decided that the Boro Hall Section would devote itself to four major concentrations, one of them being activity among the Puerto Ricans, the others being longshore, Negroes, and the industries.

It was at this meeting that Jesus Colon, who was active in Puerto Rican work, stated that he approved of the return to industrial and longshore activity, but felt that the pendulum might swing too far in that direction and that community work would be neglected.

Mr. ARENS. Jesus Colon will be a witness here today.

Do you here and now, to a certainty, identify Jesus Colon as a person known by you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I do.

Mr. ARENS. How did the Communist Party use the Puerto Ricans in its election campaigns?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. The Puerto Rican concentration was considered extremely important when the party engaged in its election campaign work. This fact was stressed by Abe Osheroff, the organizer of the Boro Hall Section, at a membership meeting which the section held in September of 1947.

Mr. ARENS. May I interrupt to ask if you here and now, to a certainty, identify Abe Osheroff as a person known by you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly proceed.

Mrs. BLAUVELT. This membership meeting was held for the purpose of drawing up plans for the party's campaign for Ada B. Jackson, a Negro who was running as a candidate for the city council on the American Labor Party ticket and to whom the Communist Party in Brooklyn was giving its support.

It was felt that the Puerto Ricans would be a very excellent subject for concentration activities in this particular election campaign, because the comrades could do a great deal of canvassing among them, get them out to register and then out to vote the American Labor Party ticket.

Two points were to be made to them: that they must vote for Ada B. Jackson and that they must vote for the retention of proportional representation, which was advocated by the party because it presented the party with the means of getting Communist candidates upon the ballot and getting them elected to office.

The purpose of this election campaign activity among the Puerto Ricans was twofold, because the party hoped not only to obtain a substantial vote for the American Labor Party in 1947, but also that contacts made among the Puerto Ricans would provide support for the third party movement which they were initiating, looking to 1948, with Henry Wallace as the presidential candidate.

Then in 1948, when Henry Wallace was running as the presidential candidate under the banners of the Progressive Party, the Boro Hall Section held a membership meeting in September of 1948, which I attended and at which the plans for the section's campaign activities were discussed.

Again it was stressed—this time by Eleanor Woolman Schor, who was the organizational secretary of the Boro Hall Section—that a special concentration job would be conducted among the Puerto Ricans, that there would be door-to-door canvassing, campaign buttons and leaflets would be distributed, and outdoor rallies would be held. The Puerto Ricans were to be reminded during registration week to register, and they were to be taken for literacy tests, if necessary. They

were also to be given copies of the Daily and Sunday Worker, with the explanation that these were the only papers which would tell them anything about Wallace.

Again in 1949 the Puerto Ricans were emphasized as a concentration in the election campaign activity.

At another meeting held in September of 1949, the Boro Hall Section had, as its guest, Carl Vedro, a member of the Executive Committee of the Kings County Committee of the Brooklyn Communist Party; and at this meeting Vedro stated that in this election the party had prescribed for itself a policy of stopping what it called the drive toward war and fascism and that, to accomplish this, it would be necessary to win over labor, the middle class, the Jews, the Negroes and all exploited groups and that it would be necessary to raise the domestic issues of housing and unemployment and yet not separate them from the issues of foreign policy.

Vedro said that, in order to accomplish this, it had been decided to campaign for Vito Marcantonio as mayor and that it would be necessary to build as broad a coalition around him as possible. He said that, to translate this party policy into action, it would be necessary to get to the people in specific issues. He cited as an example for the party in Brooklyn the issue of what he called police brutality, around which, he said, the Communist Party could fight with the American Labor Party.

He said it was necessary for the Communist Party to fight with the American Labor Party for such candidates as Marcantonio and Ada B. Jackson, who was running as the ALP candidate for borough president in Brooklyn.

He also said that the Communists must be determined to develop mass understanding in struggle and to show how this struggle could be advanced. Bea Sacks, who was then the organizer of the Boro Hall Section, stated that, in this election campaign, the Boro Hall Section would do a special concentration job among the Puerto Ricans and that it would have a special mobilization to distribute copies of a new Spanish language newspaper, *Ahora*, when it was ready in about 2 weeks' time.

Mr. ARENS. That Spanish language newspaper was to be published and developed here in New York City?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes. Bea Sacks also stated that they would get a place on Atlantic Avenue where the Puerto Ricans could come for information on the election and where they would be coached for literacy tests and for voting.

Mr. ARENS. How were fronts used in this concentration effort by the Communist Party?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. One of the methods by which the Communist Party hopes to recruit members is through its front organizations. One such front which directed its appeal to nationality groups was the International Workers Order. There was a Puerto Rican branch of the IWO in the Boro Hall Section of the party; and true to party policy of placing its members in key positions, the executive members of the party's Puerto Rican club, the La Pasionaria Club, were also the executive members of this Puerto Rican branch of the IWO.

I was at a meeting of membership directors and financial secretaries of the clubs in the Boro Hall Section on March 23, 1949, at which

Emilia Giboyeaux, the membership director of the La Pasionaria Club, stated that she had a list of the membership of this Puerto Rican branch of the IWO in her home. She was instructed by both Margery de Leon, the section's membership director, and by Caryl Lasky, the section's financial secretary, to destroy this list, inasmuch as she was a known Communist and it was known that her house was being watched.

Emilia said that her husband, Jose, who was also a member of this branch of the IWO and the party club, refused to do so. But she was instructed that, notwithstanding his objections, she must destroy any list of names in her possession so as not to involve any of the members of the IWO should the Communists get into trouble. She was also reminded that the IWO had been cited as a subversive organization.

The manner in which this Puerto Rican branch of the IWO was utilized by the Communist Party in the furtherance of party activities and propaganda can be illustrated by instructions which were given to the comrades at a meeting which I attended at section headquarters on May 12, 1950.

Jesus Colon, who was on his way to chair a meeting of this Puerto Rican branch of the IWO, made an appearance; and while he was there, Bea Sacks, the organizer of the section, informed the comrades that this IWO branch was going to hold a Mother's Day meeting on May 14. She instructed the comrades to attend this meeting as a gesture of cooperation to the Puerto Rican comrades who always attended party meetings, and also because it would give them the opportunity of speaking to non-Communists about the imprisonment of Eugene Dennis, the general secretary of the party, which had taken place that day, May 12.

Also at section headquarters was Harry Shapiro, also known as Harry Brockman in the party, who was acting as the organizer of the La Pasionaria Club. He had some material which had to be translated, stenciled, and mimeographed for distribution by the La Pasionaria Club at the Mother's Day meeting on May 14.

He reported that he had asked Emilia Giboyeaux to do it, but that it had been too difficult for her. Jesus Colon suggested that he go to the IWO meeting, where somebody could be found to do the translation. Harry came back later to headquarters, saying that he now needed it stenciled and mimeographed; and Caryl Lasky stated she would do it, but he would have to check with Jesus Colon's wife, Conchita, to see whether the translation would be ready for her in the morning.

The manner in which this Puerto Rican branch of the IWO was used by the La Pasionaria Club for its activities was brought out at the area committee meeting of Jay-Smith Clubs 1 and 2 and the La Pasionaria Club, which I attended on May 8, 1951, in the home of Carlos Dore, who was then the organizer of the La Pasionaria Club.

At this meeting, we discussed the organization of these clubs, the most pressing problem being the organization of the La Pasionaria Club. Carlos Dore reported that ever since the Insurance Department of New York State had instituted proceedings against the IWO to liquidate it, the La Pasionaria Club had lapsed into inactivity.

Ruth Perloff, the area director of the Jay-Smith Clubs, stated that this indicated that the La Pasionaria Club had been functioning in-

correctly by depending on its activities in the Puerto Rican branch of the IWO to carry it. Dore also reported that both he and Jesus Colon were members of the Cervantes Fraternal Society of the IWO and that Jesus Colon was a member of the National Board of the IWO and was involved in the proceedings against the IWO.

Carlos Dore stated that he felt one of the reasons why the La Pasionaria Club was failing in its activities was due to the lack of leadership on the part of Jesus Colon, who had been so busy with the Cervantes Society and with the IWO that he had been unable to attend any party club meetings.

Charles Marshall, the area director of the La Pasionaria Club, stated that he felt Jesus Colon should be called into the section to straighten out the situation in the La Pasionaria Club, which I think indicates the discipline to which the party members were subjected.

You asked about front organizations. There was also a branch of the American Labor Party which occupied the same premises at 131 Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn as this Puerto Rican branch of the IWO. I had attended a committee meeting of the executive members of the Jay-Smith Clubs 1 and 2, at which Bea Sacks, the organizer of the Boro Hall Section, distributed invitations to the opening of a branch of the American Labor Party at 131 Atlantic Avenue on February 18, 1950. She stated that this was the first branch of the ALP which had been established for the Puerto Ricans.

Mr. ARENS. What about the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. This Puerto Rican concentration was included in plans which the Boro Hall Section made in August of 1950 to establish a branch of the Civil Rights Congress.

The purpose of this activity was to provide the party with the means of reaching the people through the medium of a mass organization, should the party be made illegal through the enactment of the McCarran Act. It was felt that such an organization would be successful among the Puerto Ricans, because they were workers in the low-income bracket and, according to the party, were the victims of discrimination and persecution and could be persuaded that they needed the protection of such an organization.

Mr. ARENS. May I interpose a question there? Since the enactment of the Internal Security Act, has the Communist operation among Puerto Ricans gone underground?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. The party at that time was in the process of going underground for the very specific reason of avoiding any action against party members, and it felt that the best way to avoid such action was to break the party up into very small clubs and very small groups in order to avoid detection.

During this period of reorganization, activity even among the Puerto Ricans declined to some extent, because there was a period of disorganization in the reorganization period. But from the literature which I have read, I would say that there has been an ebb and flow in the activities which the Communist Party has conducted among the Puerto Ricans.

Sometimes they seem to be a little more successful than at other times. I think their success depends on just what issues they are able to present to the Puerto Ricans.

Mr. ARENS. How was the party press used?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. The party has always considered its press as one of the most effective means of reaching the people. Press drives were held constantly, at which times the comrades endeavored to get just as many subscriptions to the Daily and Sunday Workers as they possibly could, as well as renewals.

The Boro Hall Section had a meeting on March 7, 1950, when Charles Marshall, the section's new press director, announced that the Boro Hall Section had received a plaque for the good work it had done in the press drive which had just ended, and he announced that Jose Giboyeaux, of the La Pasionaria Club, had taken first place in the section, having obtained 53 subscriptions.

However, at a section membership meeting held on January 30, 1951, when the then current press drive was discussed, Jose Giboyeaux stated that he doubted he would get as many subscriptions as in the previous year because the Spanish-language paper *Ahora* was no longer being printed, but nevertheless he pledged to get about 15.

It was at this same meeting that Jesus Colon, who was regarded as the leader of both the La Pasionaria Club and the Puerto Rican branch of the IWO, recommended that a Spanish-language column be placed in the Daily Worker, with a special insert in the Sunday paper, based on the needs of the Puerto Rican people and the problems confronting the Puerto Ricans here in New York.

Mr. ARENS. You spoke a little while ago, Detective Blauvelt, about the fraud of the party, how the party uses various issues, humanitarian issues and the like, in order to entrap and ensnare people, and how the party, itself is insincere in using those issues.

How did the party use, and how does the party currently use, the issue of peace in order to attempt to ensnare the Puerto Rican groups?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. The issue of peace has been one of the major propaganda activities of the party for many, many years, and it was also used as the basis for activity among the people in this Puerto Rican concentration.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us some illustrations?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes. At the time when the Stockholm Peace Petition was being circulated by the party in June and July of 1950, Jose Giboyeaux, of the La Pasionaria Club, secured between 200 and 300 signatures to this petition, leading all of the other comrades in the Boro Hall Section.

This issue of peace was discussed at a membership meeting of the Boro Hall Section held on January 30, 1951, at which Philip Bart, the business manager of the Daily Worker, was the guest speaker. He reported on the national convention which had been held by the Communist Party during the last days of December 1950, at which he said the issue of peace was the main feature.

Mr. ARENS. May I interrupt you to ask you this: All of us, every sane person, wants peace. Is it a fact, based on your background, experience, and study of the Communist operation, that the Communist conspiracy is, by its writings, by its teachings, by its practices, at total war with the free world?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. It most certainly is.

Mr. ARENS. It is a war in which they use intrigue, subversion, deceit, force as necessary, and the like, with the goal being complete world domination; is that true?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Then is it true to conclude that in the party's protestations of peace, from Khrushchev on down, are a monumental fraud?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. It most certainly is.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any further illustrations of the way in which the Communist Party conspirators among the Puerto Ricans discuss the peace issue for the purpose of using that appeal to worm their way in and influence Puerto Rican nationality groups?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes. The American Peace Crusade was used to very great advantage by the Communist Party. This Peace Crusade was launched in February of 1951, and it gave added impetus to the party's peace drive.

The American Peace Crusade held a peace congress in the latter part of June 1951; and at one of my party club meetings, when it was reported that certain comrades were going, it was announced that Jose Giboyeaux, of the La Pasionaria Club, would be the delegate from that club to this peace congress.

Mr. ARENS. What other activities did the conspirators of the Communist Party develop?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Another activity was the mobilization of the Puerto Ricans to participate in May Day parades.

Mr. ARENS. Give us on this record a word about the May Day parades.

Mrs. BLAUVELT. The May Day parades were held annually, usually on May 1, or on a date very close to that. Party activity started about a couple of months before that to organize people in the community to participate.

It was at the area committee meeting of Jay-Smith Clubs 1 and 2 and the La Pasionaria Club, which I attended on May 8, 1951, that Jesus Colon spoke about his attempts to mobilize the Puerto Ricans for the May Day parade that year, that is, 1951; and he stated that this was the first year that he had encountered any difficulty in mobilizing the Puerto Ricans to participate.

Mr. ARENS. Did he indicate why?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. No, he didn't give any particular reason. I think, though, that it was because at that time the party was in a period of reorganization and the comrades were having a little difficulty in getting out and getting to the people.

Also, I feel that at this period of time, the people had become a little more aware of the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. ARENS. They began to see through the fraud of the party?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes, I believe that was true. And it became a little more difficult to involve them in party activities when they were aware that the party was behind these activities.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, that confirms the premise of the chairman of this subcommittee in his opening statement, namely, that the overwhelming majority of the Puerto Ricans, as well as all of our society, are loyal and patriotic, but that they are subject to the constant penetration, influence, and persuasion of this small, dedicated, zealot group of conspirators; is that correct?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is very true.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly proceed to tell us anything further about this May Day parade that you feel is of significance?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I think that is about all with particular reference to this May Day parade in 1951, except that Jesus Colon stated that he felt that in that year the contingent of the Puerto Ricans and Latin Americans had been a very negligible one.

Mr. ARENS. Now may I ask you this: What is the purpose of this activity by the Communist conspirators among Puerto Ricans? Why do they seek out, penetrate, and attempt to penetrate, the Puerto Rican nationality group here?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. The purpose of all of this activity is to recruit the Puerto Ricans into the party. But if that cannot be achieved, the very least they hope to accomplish is to gain support for party propaganda, either in the name of the party, but more usually in the name of a front organization, because, as I said before, the sheer weight of numbers supporting any propaganda campaign on the part of the party might give the impression that it is the actual will of the people and thus serve the party in projecting its own aims.

It is a party tactic to foster resentment on the part of any minority group for the purpose of causing further dissension among the people in this country. In many cases, where no resentment exists, the party will strive to create it. For example, a routine arrest of some law-breaker will be labeled persecution, police brutality, violation of civil rights, and it will be seized upon by the party as an excuse to initiate an intensive petition or leaflet campaign or to initiate the formation of a peoples civil rights or defense committee.

The issues about which everyone is concerned, such as housing, rents, wages and prices, are used by the party as an entering wedge, magnified greatly out of proportion, and then followed by propaganda for the party's own purposes. In all of its literature, the party pretends that it is the one which has initiated concern over these issues. It tries to present the assumption that it is the party which is the only organization that can ameliorate these conditions and that it is only through support of the party that these conditions can be satisfactorily resolved.

It is quite satisfied when, through such a campaign, it can recruit a few members, but what is even more important is when it is successful in gaining the support of a large number of people, because then it has not only created a resentment which, under some other circumstances, might flare up into civil strife, but it has also conditioned the minds of the people who have supported its campaigns to accept still others which may be purely political in their aims and not masked in the guise of interest in the people.

Mr. ARENS. Based upon your current study of crime and your current study of Communist operations in New York City, what relationship do you, as an authority in this field, see between crime and the Communist conspiratorial operations here?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Let me answer your question this way: Criminology studies have stressed quite often that crimes against society are but the outward manifestation of inward resentments against society. It is my feeling that this constant pressure of the party upon the Puerto Rican people—this hammering away of party propaganda lines that the Puerto Ricans are an underprivileged, exploited group, that Puerto Rico, itself, is a colonial territory under the domination of an imperialistic United States, which wants to use them to enrich its

own capitalistic system through the serfdom of the Puerto Ricans—accomplishes exactly what the party desires.

It succeeds in arousing class resentments, in creating a belief in exploitation, and it creates a mental attitude which may express itself in crimes of violence and may even lead to the ultimate crime of violence—the revolt not only against individuals of society, but against society itself and against the Government itself.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness. If there are no further questions by the members, I would like to request a brief recess.

Mr. TUCK. Very well.

The Chair would like to take this opportunity of complimenting the detective for her fine testimony and for the great work she is doing to uncover the methods and operations of the conspiratorial agency.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, may we take a 5-minute recess?

Mr. TUCK. Very well.

(A short recess was taken. Present at time of recess: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

(At the conclusion of the recess Representatives Tuck and Scherer were present.)

Mr. TUCK. The subcommittee will please be in order.

The director will call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Jesus Colon, kindly come forward.

Remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. TUCK. Raise your right hand.

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COLON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JESUS COLON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, IRA GOLLOBIN

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. COLON. Before I identify myself, I would like to know under what authority this committee is calling me to this inquiry.

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation. Then we will proceed from there.

Mr. COLON. My name is Jesus Colon. I live in Brooklyn, 482 Pacific Street. I am a writer for The Worker.

Mr. SCHERER. A writer for what?

Mr. COLON. For The Worker.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. COLON. Under what authority is this committee acting?

Mr. ARENS. We will get to that in a moment, please.

You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you?

Mr. COLON. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. COLON. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. GOLLOBIN. Ira Gollobin, New York, N.Y.

Mr. ARENS. Now may I respond to your query?

This Committee on Un-American Activities was established by the United States Congress pursuant to Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress. The powers, duties, and authority of this committee are a matter of public record.

In this particular instance, this Committee on Un-American Activities passed a resolution directing that there be an investigation and hearings held concerning the operations by the world Communist conspiracy—of which the Communist operation in the United States is just one tentacle—among Puerto Rican nationality groups in the United States and the connections of that operation with the Communist operation on the island of Puerto Rico.

The over-all objective is to assist the Committee on Un-American Activities in its legislative duties, legislative responsibilities, which consist, among other things, of the following:

Under the Legislative Reorganization Act, each committee of the Congress is to maintain a continuing surveillance over the administration and operation of all laws within the jurisdiction of that committee. The Committee on Un-American Activities, accordingly, has a duty to maintain a continuing surveillance over the administration and operation of the Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and numerous laws pertaining to espionage, sabotage, and security matters.

In the pursuit of that objective, many items of legislation have been recommended for enactment by the Committee on Un-American Activities. The Committee on Un-American Activities has pending before it at the present time numerous legislative proposals, in addition to formal bills. Some of these proposals deal with Communist propaganda activities. Some deal with the probability and possibility of legislation which would attempt to completely outlaw the Communist Party, as such, and the Communist Party activities, as such. Some of these proposals would attempt to tighten up on certain phases of use of passports by Communists to carry on their nefarious work. Some of these proposals would attempt to tighten up on other activities of Communists who are part of this world conspiracy that menaces freedom everywhere.

Sir, you have been subpoenaed and are before this committee because it is the information of this committee that you have knowledge which, if you will relate it to the committee, will bear upon the fund of knowledge which the committee is attempting to accumulate in order to properly assess the various legislative proposals which are pending before it.

With that explanation, I ask you to please tell us where and when you were born.

Mr. COLON. I was born in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. And when?

Mr. COLON. But before I go into that, may I present my point of view as to this—

Mr. ARENS. Just answer the question, if you please.

Mr. COLON. This basic question that was presented?

Mr. ARENS. When were you born in Puerto Rico?

Mr. COLON. I would like to present my point of view as to the right of this committee to bring me here. I resent that.

Mr. ARENS. Under the rules of this committee, all presentations of that character are to be presented to the committee in writing, in advance, so that they may be studied by the appropriate members of the staff who advise and counsel and work with the committee. Those rules have been a matter of public record for a long time.

Now please answer the question. When were you born?

Mr. COLON. I just want to say——

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the question as to when he was born.

Mr. COLON. I will answer the question, but I think I have a right under my constitutional rights to resent this inquiry here.

Mr. ARENS. Now would you kindly answer the question? When were you born?

Mr. COLON. I was born on March 20, 1901.

Mr. ARENS. And tell us——

Mr. COLON. In Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us a word about your education.

Mr. COLON. Well, I went to grammar school in Puerto Rico, to high school in Brooklyn, and I went to some years of college.

Mr. ARENS. What college did you attend?

Mr. COLON. St. John's Law.

Mr. ARENS. Did you graduate?

Mr. COLON. I did not.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. COLON. I don't recall.

Mr. ARENS. Did you receive a law degree?

Mr. COLON. No.

Mr. ARENS. Were you admitted as a member of the Bar in Puerto Rico?

Mr. COLON. I just said that I didn't finish.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon. I misunderstood you.

When did you conclude your study of the law?

Mr. COLON. I don't recall exactly the years.

Mr. ARENS. Your best recollections. The approximate time.

Mr. COLON. I don't want to guess, because I want to be as exact as possible in this inquiry.

Mr. ARENS. All right.

Now, would you tell us what was your first principal vocation or occupation after you concluded your studies at the law school?

Mr. COLON. The first what?

Mr. ARENS. What was the first job or work that you engaged in after you completed your education?

Mr. COLON. Well, I had various jobs. I worked for the Federal Government.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mr. COLON. As a postal clerk in Brooklyn.

Mr. ARENS. Was that your first principal job after you concluded your formal education?

Mr. COLON. No. I worked in the longshore work.

Mr. ARENS. Was that all in Puerto Rico?

Mr. COLON. Right here in New York.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to know the work that you engaged in in Puerto Rico, prior to the time you came to the United States.

Mr. COLON. In Puerto Rico? I was very young when I came here to this country.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. COLON. Around 1917.

Mr. ARENS. Approximately how old were you then?

Mr. COLON. I cannot recall.

Mr. ARENS. We can compute that from your birth date. Give us the principal occupations which you have had since you came to the United States.

Mr. COLON. Well, I was a worker, a dishwasher, a coal passer, a longshoreman, a watchman, and general factory worker.

Mr. ARENS. When did you become employed by the Government of the United States?

Mr. COLON. Around 1923, after I finished my high school.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mr. COLON. First I was a laborer at the Navy Yard, and then I was—I came into postal work.

Mr. ARENS. After you left Puerto Rico to come to the United States, when you were a relatively young man, did you ever return to Puerto Rico to live there, or have you continuously lived in the United States since you came here?

Mr. COLON. If it pleases the committee, I would like to know what all this is focusing for? I thought I was brought here to speak on the question of this literature, on Communist, so-called, relations with Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. We are doing what lawyers call, and you probably learned this in law school, laying a foundation. We want your background.

Mr. COLON. I don't see any connection. I don't want to waste the time of this very honorable committee.

Mr. ARENS. If you don't want to waste the time of this committee, restrain yourself from these asides.

Mr. COLON. Then come to the point.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us if you have lived continuously in the United States since you came here from Puerto Rico as a young man.

Mr. COLON. More or less.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever resumed your residence in Puerto Rico?

Mr. COLON. No, I have not.

Mr. ARENS. You have taken trips to Puerto Rico, though, haven't you?

Mr. COLON. I think so.

Mr. ARENS. Have you or haven't you?

Mr. COLON. I have; yes.

Mr. ARENS. What was your next principal occupation after you were in the Post Office Department?

Mr. COLON. From the Post Office Department I went as an organizer.

Mr. ARENS. An organizer for what?

Mr. COLON. For the Spanish-speaking section of the Cervantes Society.

Mr. ARENS. And where did you work there?

Mr. COLON. That is a fraternal organization.

Mr. ARENS. Did you work here on the island, in Manhattan?

Mr. COLON. I worked here in New York.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you work in that capacity?

Mr. COLON. For a number of years.

Mr. ARENS. Approximately how many years?

Mr. COLON. I have a very bad memory.

Mr. ARENS. Did you work there as many as 5 years?

Mr. COLON. I think so.

Mr. ARENS. Did you work there as many as 10 years?

Mr. COLON. I don't know. I have to check on that.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be your best judgment that you worked there between 5 and 10 years?

Mr. COLON. I may say so.

Mr. ARENS. What was your next principal employment?

Mr. COLON. Well, I was out of a job for a while. I tried to get here and there and passed examinations here and there and I couldn't get anything until an opening came in *The Worker*—the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* in those days—in which I was—

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been connected with *The Worker*?

Mr. COLON. I might say for the last 5 years.

Mr. ARENS. And what do you do there?

Mr. COLON. I write a column. I worked around in the office.

Mr. ARENS. Do your columns pertain principally to Puerto Ricans and Puerto Rican groups?

Mr. COLON. Not necessarily.

Mr. ARENS. Do they occasionally contain items of information respecting Puerto Ricans and Puerto Rican groups?

Mr. COLON. It has information of everything that is of actuality and that I think was of interest for the readers of *The Worker*, regardless of language or nationality, which has a news value.

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt a minute?

Did you write an article for the *Sunday Worker* of November 15, this last Sunday?

Mr. COLON. November the what?

Mr. SCHERER. The 15th.

Mr. COLON. November 15th?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes; 1959.

Mr. COLON. Have you got a copy there? Let's see how *The Worker* looks like, for all the people to know.

Mr. SCHERER. If I want to do that, I will. I am merely asking if you wrote an article for the *Sunday*, November 15th—

Mr. COLON. I usually write an article for every *Sunday* issue of the paper, unless I am sick or on vacation; something like that.

Mr. SCHERER. This last *Sunday Worker*, did you write an article?

Mr. COLON. The last *Sunday Worker*? I think I did.

Mr. SCHERER. What article did you write?

Mr. COLON. I think it would be easier if you show me the paper.

Mr. SCHERER. Can't you remember what article you wrote for *The Worker* last Sunday?

Mr. COLON. You see, I write a series of articles, some are signed and some are unsigned.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you write more than one article for the Sunday Worker this last Sunday?

Mr. COLON. I usually write news features and things that aren't signed on Latin America, and then I write an article for the Sunday Worker.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you write for any publications other than the Sunday Worker?

Mr. COLON. When they ask for an article on cultural or general Latin American information or feature articles, I try to write, if I can.

Mr. SCHERER. I have before me the Sunday Worker for which you write, of November 15th—this last Sunday. Did you write an article which is headed "Hit Un-Americans' Hunt in Puerto Rico?" Did you write that article?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate other people, me, the relationship of the—

Mr. SCHERER. You can use the fifth amendment if you think it is proper on the ground it might incriminate you, but not on the ground that it might incriminate other people.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. COLON. I am so doing now.

Mr. SCHERER. On the ground that it might incriminate you?

Mr. COLON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And not other people. Is that right?

Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct this witness to answer the question whether he wrote the article appearing in the issue of the Sunday Worker of November 15, headed "Hit Un-Americans' Hunt in Puerto Rico." He has said he has written articles for this paper. He has said voluntarily that he wrote an article, or one or more articles, for this last Sunday Worker.

I think if he had any privilege to invoke the fifth amendment he has waived that privilege and, therefore, I ask that you direct him to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is directed and ordered to answer the question.

Mr. COLON. No, I didn't write that article.

Mr. SCHERER. You did not write that article?

Mr. COLON. No. Is it signed by me?

Mr. SCHERER. No. That is the reason I am asking you. If it had been signed by you, I wouldn't have asked you the question.

Do you know who wrote the article?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the fifth amendment.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is directed and ordered to answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. The chairman has directed you to answer the question. You can't decline to answer on the ground that it might incriminate someone else.

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the basis of the rights given to a citizen under the first amendment and on the rights that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Without asking you the name of the party, then, do you know who wrote the article?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the same grounds that I declined to answer previously.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you furnish the person who wrote the article with any of the information contained in that article?

Mr. COLON. The same answer.

Mr. SCHERER. You are familiar with the article, are you not?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you read the article in the Sunday Worker?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. You decline to tell us. Do you think it would incriminate you to tell us whether you read an article appearing in the Sunday Worker?

Mr. COLON. On the grounds of the same answer I have given you on this point, I decline to answer this question.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I think that the article, since it deals with this committee's hearings in Puerto Rico the latter part of this week, should be incorporated in the record of these hearings at this point, and I so move.

Mr. TUCK. The article referred to by the gentleman from Ohio will be recorded as an exhibit in the record at this point.

(Document marked "Colon Exhibit No. 1" follows.)

COLON EXHIBIT No. 1

HIT UN-AMERICANS' HUNT IN PUERTO RICO

The national executive committee of the Communist Party last week "unqualifiedly" condemned the proposal of the House Un-American Activities Committee to "intervene in the domestic affairs of the Puerto Rican commonwealth."

The party demanded that President Eisenhower "act immediately to check this violation of our agreements with the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, of our commitments under the charter of the United Nations, and of the Constitution of the United States."

"At a time when throughout Latin America there are repeated protests against Yankee imperialism and the chauvinism of American monopolists in relations with the peoples of Cuba, Guatemala, Panama, and other countries to the south of our country," the party said, the committee "threatens to bring further disgrace and shame to the American people by an invasion of Puerto Rico and inquisition" of its people. "This irresponsible act of the infamous committee seeks to brand the Puerto Rican people as subservient to the committee without freedom to think and act in their own interests."

The House Committee refuses to investigate the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan with their terror practices against the Negro people, the Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans in the South," the party declared. "It refuses to investigate the slum and inhuman conditions in which Puerto Ricans are forced to live, and the brutal exploitation of them for the profit of monopoly business in the United States.

"During its entire history, this unconstitutional House Committee has been condemned by organized labor, by leaders of the Negro people and advocates of civil liberty from every walk in American life as a menace to the freedoms of the American people.

"It has no mandate from the American people to harass the Puerto Ricans in New York or to go to Puerto Rico.

"It has no invitation from that Commonwealth.

"Subpenas to some 150 Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico and to a large number in New York for 'hearings' from Nov. 16 through Nov. 20 have already done damage.

"The invasion has already begun and must be brought to a halt. Congressmen from every state should be called to protest this brazen imperialist chauvinist act and demand that the inquisition be called off. Communists together with all

other Americans cannot remain passive while reactionary committees of a branch of the American government seek to do a grave injury to our national honor, morality, and prestige."

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any other employment in addition to your employment with the Daily Worker and The Worker?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the basis that it will tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel that if you told this committee about any other employment in which you are engaged, in addition to your employment as a writer for The Worker, you would be supplying information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the—

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer this last question. It is posed for the purpose of testing his good faith in invoking the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

It is obvious from this record that in a preceding question he did not invoke the fifth amendment in good faith.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair orders and directs the witness to answer the question and warns the witness that he may bring himself within contempt of a committee of the Congress of the United States unless he so answers.

Mr. COLON. By the rights given me in all the constitutional rights to all citizens, especially on the fifth amendment, I decline to answer on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you also write for a paper in San Juan, Puerto Rico, a publication there known as Pueblo?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you write for any other publications besides The Worker and Pueblo?

Mr. COLON. On the same grounds I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Detective Blauvelt, would you kindly stand?

Now, Mr. Witness, would you please look to your left at the lady who is standing there.

This morning, an hour or so ago, Detective Blauvelt testified under oath that while she was an undercover member in the Communist Party here in New York City, with principal concern in the Communist penetration of the Puerto Rican nationality group, she knew you, to a certainty, to be a member of that conspiratorial group known as the Communist Party.

Kindly look at her while she is standing there and tell this committee while you are under oath whether Detective Blauvelt told the truth in her testimony under oath, or whether she was in error.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. COLON. I would like to know if this is a grand jury and if I would have the opportunity to cross-examine the witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be ordered and directed and warned to answer the question and to eliminate the theatrics.

Mr. COLON. These are not theatrics. This is some information that I am trying to get, whether this is a grand jury, a court, or whether I would have the opportunity to cross-examine the witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The witness——

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment, that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you, in addition to your work for The Worker, also disseminate and distribute among the Puerto Rican nationality group in New York City Communist propaganda emanating from behind the Iron Curtain and emanating from San Juan, Puerto Rico?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Are you also an instructor, in addition to your other duties, in an organization which has taken the name "The Faculty of Social Science" here in New York City?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you now, if you please, a thermofax reproduction of a copy of your publication The Worker of October 18, 1959, describing the activities of this Faculty of Social Science and listing the instructors, including Jesus Colon.

Please look at that article and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not that article's assertion that you are an instructor at the Faculty of Social Science is true and correct.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. COLON. I exercise my privilege.

Mr. ARENS. What privilege?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. COLON. Under the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Colon Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. You will recall some very few years ago when a number of Communist traitors were indicted in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Did you have anything to do with the committee which was set up on behalf of the Puerto Rican Communists who were indicted?

Mr. COLON. I would like to know a little more about this so-called Communist traitors. Are you using the adjective, or whatever you call it, "traitors," for anybody who are exercising the rights as citizens to speak, to assemble, and so forth?

Mr. ARENS. We don't regard people of that kind as traitors.

Mr. COLON. It seems to me that this committee has a tendency to use adjectives out of the context. For example, the question of the word "peace" is being brought around here as if it were a dirty word. I resent that.

Mr. SCHERER. Let's eliminate the word "traitors." Did you have anything to do with the committee that was set up on behalf of some Puerto Ricans who were indicted? We will not use any of those words. That is all we want to know.

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the privilege given me by the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that you were the chairman of the committee for the so-called Puerto Rican Smith Act defendants in San Juan. If that is not true, deny it while you are under oath.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you, as part of your work as a writer for The Worker, reproduce the essence of articles appearing in Pravda?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the same grounds given to me by the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently have information of current activities by this conspiratorial force known as the Communist Party, working among the Puerto Rican nationality group here in New York City?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently have information respecting the activities in Puerto Rico of this conspiratorial force known as the Communist operation, that is, information which you can supply your Government via this committee?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the same grounds that I did before.

Mr. ARENS. When was your last trip to Puerto Rico?

Mr. COLON. I think it was in 1948.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have present contact with Communists who are operating in Puerto Rico?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Can you supply this committee now with information respecting the couriers of the Communist conspiracy operating between New York City and San Juan?

Mr. COLON. This looks like a Barnum and Bailey Circus. Couriers? Ha! I don't know why they get this crazy information.

Mr. ARENS. Let me be specific.

Do you know a person by the name of Torres, T-o-r-r-e-s?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the rights given me by the first amendment of the Constitution and the fifth, that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know, and are you in contact with, Juan Saez Corales in San Juan?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, or have you been in the recent past, in contact with Juan Santos Rivera in San Juan, Puerto Rico?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the same grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. What courses do you teach at this Faculty of Social Science?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the same grounds that I have cited before. It might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, how could what you teach incriminate you unless you were teaching something that was illegal?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell this committee while you are under oath what you have done in an attempt to raise funds in New York City to sustain the publication in San Juan known as Pueblo?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Why do you decline to answer?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. COLON. I am exercising my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the leader of the Communist conspiracy in Puerto Rico, Juan Santos Rivera?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know an international Communist courier operating out of San Juan by the name of Jose Enamorado Cuesta?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. COLON. On the privilege given to me by the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Ask him, Mr. Counsel, whether he knows this man, without attaching the appellation "international courier."

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Jose Enamorado Cuesta?

Mr. COLON. I decline to answer on the right given to me by the first amendment and on the right of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. Do you have any further questions?

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to suggest, Mr. Chairman, if it meets with the pleasure of the chairman and Congressman Scherer, that this would be a very appropriate time, from the standpoint of our work, for the chairman to order a recess for lunch, and come back whenever it is appropriate.

Mr. PATTERSON. I was subpoenaed to appear today. I now understand that I will not be called today. I think the names of those who are to be called today ought to be read and that men and women who have business to attend to should not be held here illegally in this way.

I ask if I am going to be called today and, if I am not, to be excused.

Mr. TUCK. The committee will call the witnesses whenever it is most convenient to call them.

Mr. PATTERSON. I was given to understand by the staff director that I would not be called. Why, then, should I be forced to sit here all day?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, may I observe that in this hearing, as in all hearings, it is a little difficult to anticipate exactly how much time we will take with each witness. We cannot at this time say who will be heard this afternoon, but probably a few witnesses who have been subpoenaed for today, because of the press of time, will be obliged to stay over.

We regret that circumstance, but it is unavoidable. Therefore, I respectfully suggest that the committee continue in the normal course. We always try to be cooperative with the witnesses and accommodate them by indicating approximately when they will be heard.

With that observation, Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the committee be ordered into recess for lunch.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman, I was informed, however, that I would not be called, by the staff director. Why go through these shenanigans now?

Mr. ARENS. I have told this witness that he would not be called today. We do not know how we will proceed this afternoon, Mr. Chairman.

I suggest that it is no time for the gentleman who is speaking to undertake to offer the Committee on Un-American Activities advice. He will have ample opportunities in a little while to speak before the committee.

Mr. TUCK. That witness will be excused until tomorrow morning.

Mr. COLON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer a statement on my behalf to be part of the record.

Mr. TUCK. You may submit the statement and we will consider the statement and decide whether or not it is in order. If so, it will be filed as part of the record.

Mr. COLON. All right.

Mr. TUCK. The committee will now stand in recess until two o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1959

The subcommittee reconvened at 2 p.m., Hon. William M. Tuck, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

(Present at time of convening: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

Mr. TUCK. The subcommittee will please be in order. Counsel will call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Felix Ojeda Ruiz.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. LOEB. I have a translator for this witness. May he come forward?

Mr. ARENS. Yes. We have the translator who has been sworn by the committee.

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you are about to give in this case before the subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RUIZ. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF FELIX OJEDA RUIZ,* ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, WERNER L. LOEB (DONALD F. BARNES, INTERPRETER)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Barnes, the committee translator, will you please inform him to have a seat?

I will pose the question to the witness, Mr. Barnes, and you will repeat the question in the exact language I use to him. Then you will get back from him the exact language that he gives to us, only, of course, in the translated language.

Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. My name is Felix Ojeda Ruiz. I live at 508 West 139th Street, in New York. I am a carpenter, a cabinetmaker.

*Member of a new Communist splinter group, the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party or "POC," formally organized in August 1958 by extremists expelled from the main Communist Party for "disruptive" activities.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself on this record.

Mr. LOEB. Werner L. Loeb, Nyack, N.Y.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I was born on the 15th of March of 1903, in Naguabo, Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. And a word about your education?

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I attended first through eighth grades in grammar school. I lived in the country in a very isolated area. I had to walk 25 miles on foot to school, and then once again to my home after school hours. Under these conditions, I went to school through the seventh grade, and thereupon I moved to San Juan and did the eighth grade of grammar school in San Juan, and also the first year of high school.

My economic conditions were such that I had to go to school with no lunch and barefoot and, also, that I could not continue my studying. This was all in public school.

Mr. SCHIERER. He said he walked 25 miles to school and 25 miles back each day?

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. That is right. No, it is 25 miles round-trip to and from the school.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. It was about more or less 4 years ago that I came to the United States to earn my living.

Mr. ARENS. Did you live continuously in Puerto Rico prior to 4 years ago when you came to the United States?

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. Around 1930 or 1929 I lived for a year or two in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. What was your occupation in Puerto Rico prior to your coming to the United States 4 years ago?

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I had a small carpenter shop.

Mr. ARENS. Were you at any time during your residency in Puerto Rico prior to coming to the United States editor of a publication there known as Pueblo?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel that if you told this committee now, while you are under oath, if you were, prior to coming to the United States, editor of a publication in San Juan known as Pueblo you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I believe that, according to the law, the question might tend to incriminate me and I, therefore, avail myself of the fifth amendment, which is a right I have as a citizen.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now for the perusal of yourself, via the translator, a copy of an article appearing in the New York Daily Worker of April 1954.

This article is entitled "High Bail Set For Jailed Puerto Rico Communists." It lists a number of Communists, and the following ap-

pears: "The Communists in prison are: * * * Felix Ojeda, editor of Pueblo and president of the Partisans of Peace."

You have your own translator to your right.

Please display to him that article and have him display the article to you and tell the committee whether or not the facts recited there respecting your identification as editor of Pueblo and your connection with the group known as Partisans of Peace are true and correct.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I avail myself of the fifth amendment in answering this question.

(Document marked "Felix Ojeda Ruiz Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. That was a long consultation to get the fifth-amendment answer. You are not doing that deliberately, are you, to delay the hearing?

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you came to the United States for permanent residence 4 years ago?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I avail myself of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. What other occupation are you engaged in, in the United States, besides your occupation as carpenter?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I work 8 hours a day and sometimes 10, and that doesn't leave me any time for any other occupation.

Mr. ARENS. Are you engaged in any Communist Party activities?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever received a United States passport?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now a photostatic reproduction of a United States passport application filed in November of 1952 by yourself, in which you solicit a United States passport to go to Spain and state that you want to go to Spain for the purpose of visiting relatives.

Kindly look at this photostatic reproduction of this application and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not this is a true and correct reproduction of a passport application filed by yourself.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I invoke the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Felix Ojeda Ruiz Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you have relatives in Spain?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Did you travel to Spain in 1952 on Communist Party business?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Were the statements made in that application for a passport truthful statements?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, are the statements in that passport made under oath?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. ARENS. We display to you now a copy of Pueblo, a publication of the Communist operation in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and ask you, while you are under oath, to tell this committee whether or not you are a distributing agent of Pueblo among the Puerto Rican group in New York City.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I invoke the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Felix Ojeda Ruiz Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you currently maintain contacts with any persons known by you to be in the Communist operation in Puerto Rico?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you maintain any contacts with any persons in Puerto Rico?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I have relatives in Puerto Rico.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you maintain contact with those relatives?

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. Naturally, in one way or another.

Mr. SCHERER. Are any of them members of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. In that respect, I don't know how other people think.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question. I think he should be warned, too, that he may find himself in trouble before the committee.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I would like to repeat that I don't know what the thinking is of any relatives that I might have that are not with me—what their thinking is in political affairs—because everybody has a right to think as he wishes.

I know what I think, but I would like to repeat I don't know what my relatives are thinking.

Mr. SCHERER. I don't care what his relatives think. I asked whether he knows whether they belong to the Communist Party. He has been directed to answer the question and hasn't answered it.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I don't know and I can't say what the political affiliation of my relatives are or may be in Puerto Rico. I can't say it because I don't know. I don't know what relationship they might have and I can't say: I can't give any more information.

Mr. SCHERER. What are the names of the relatives with whom you do maintain contact in Puerto Rico?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say you invoke the fifth amendment?

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you maintain any contact with persons in Puerto Rico other than relatives?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. He said first that he maintained contact with only his relatives, didn't he?

Witness, didn't you tell us that, naturally, you maintained contacts with relatives? Didn't you tell us that?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I request that you repeat the question that you had asked first.

Mr. SCHERER. The question Mr. Arens asked, as I recall it, was whether he maintains any contacts with persons in Puerto Rico who are members of the Communist Party, and he took the fifth amendment to that question.

Then I asked him whether he maintained contacts with any persons in Puerto Rico, and he said, in effect, "Naturally, with relatives." Then he was asked to name those relatives and he took the fifth amendment.

He was asked whether any of those relatives were members of the Communist Party, I believe, and he took the fifth amendment.

Now my question is whether he maintains contact with any persons in Puerto Rico other than relatives.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Now let's get this straight. He said he doesn't know what the political affiliations of any of his relatives are. Specifically, he said he doesn't know what they think or believe. Of course, that wasn't the question, but that is his answer as it stands.

Then I asked him for the names of his relatives, and he took the fifth amendment. He refused to give us the names of those relatives whose political beliefs he has no knowledge of on the grounds it might tend to incriminate him.

Now I am going to ask the chairman to direct this witness to give us the names of his relatives. Obviously, from his answers to the other questions, giving the names of his relatives couldn't possibly incriminate him.

May I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question?

Mr. TUCK. The Chair orders and directs the witness to answer the question as to who his relatives are with whom he maintains contact, and about whom he said he does not know what the political beliefs are.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. Using a right that is mine, I invoke the fifth amendment as to that question.

Mr. SCHERER. I am not going to pursue this matter any farther except to make this observation: If this man's relatives with whom he maintains contact have political affiliations unknown to him, as he has stated, how could he possibly incriminate himself by telling us the names of the relatives with whom he has contact?

I put the question to both our counsel and the counsel for the witness and ask whether, under those circumstances, he is obviously not prop-

erly and not in good faith invoking the fifth amendment and whether that doesn't subject him to contempt?

With that observation, I give counsel a chance to advise his witness, if he wants to, to possibly change his answer.

Mr. TUCK. I think it only fair to inform the witness at this time, too, that the Justice Department may very likely be requested to review his testimony for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not he is in contempt of the committee by his refusal to answer the question directly.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I repeat that I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. I am sorry I took so much time, Mr. Chairman, but I just wanted to show how improperly and without good faith the fifth amendment was so often used.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OJEDA RUIZ. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. William Norman.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. TUCK. Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NORMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM NORMAN

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. NORMAN. My name is William Norman. I appear under a subpoena served by your committee.

Mr. ARENS. And your residence and occupation, please?

Mr. NORMAN. I exercise the privilege of the fifth amendment. I refuse to answer on the grounds it may incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you feel that if you told this committee where you live, you would be giving information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. NORMAN. The answer is the same.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. NORMAN. I exercise the privilege of the fifth amendment and decline to answer on the ground it may incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you understand the question? The question is are you now, in this proceeding today, represented by counsel?

Mr. NORMAN. The answer is the same.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that this witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. TUCK. You are ordered and directed to answer the question of counsel.

Mr. NORMAN. I think this committee will—at least I hope this committee will respect my constitutional rights.

Mr. SCHERER. How could it incriminate you, sir, if you told this committee whether you do or do not have a lawyer?

Mr. NORMAN. I hope you will respect my constitutional rights.

Mr. ARENS. We will. We always respect constitutional rights, although the Communists so frequently pervert it and say we do not.

Mr. SCHERER. I think he should be directed, Mr. Chairman, to answer the question as to where he lives. How can it possibly incriminate him to tell us where he lives? We have a right, for the purpose of identification, to know where this man lives.

Mr. NORMAN. You served a subpoena and I am here.

Mr. SCHERER. That is one more reason why he should answer the question as to where he lives. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair orders and directs the witness to answer the question in respect to where he lives.

Mr. NORMAN. I live in Flushing.

Mr. SCHERER. Where in Flushing?

Mr. NORMAN. 150-42 75th Avenue.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Mr. NORMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee what your occupation is, you would be giving information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. NORMAN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. NORMAN. I exercise the privilege of the fifth amendment. I refuse to answer on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the question as to where he was born.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair orders and directs the witness to answer the question as to where he was born.

Mr. NORMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me and I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. This is almost unbelievable. Not by the widest stretch of the imagination could where a man was born be incriminating.

How old are you?

Mr. NORMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me and I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I request that you direct the witness first to answer the question how old he is.

Mr. TUCK. It is obvious to the presiding officer that the witness has not properly availed himself of the protection given witnesses under the fifth amendment of the Constitution. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. NORMAN. I am 57 years old.

Mr. SCHERER. Now I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question of where he was born.

Mr. NORMAN. Russia.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. NORMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. How could that incriminate you if you are a citizen of the United States? This is absurd. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question of whether he is a citizen of the United States. He said he was born in Russia. We certainly have a right to know whether he is a citizen; whether he is or is not a citizen couldn't possibly incriminate him.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is directed and ordered to answer the question.

Mr. NORMAN. I am a citizen.

Mr. ARENS. I didn't hear him.

Mr. SCHERER. He said he was a citizen.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. NORMAN. I decline to answer on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me and I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to when he came to the United States.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair orders and directs you to answer the question as to when you came to the United States.

Mr. NORMAN. I was 7 years old.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen by derivation or by naturalization?

Mr. NORMAN. By derivation.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been engaged in your present occupation?

Mr. NORMAN. I decline to answer on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. What was your occupation immediately prior to your present occupation?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment and refuse to answer on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Blauvelt, will you stand up, please?

Would you please look to your left at the lady who is standing there and tell us whether or not you know her, or have ever seen her before?

Mr. NORMAN. I refuse to answer on the ground it may tend to incriminate me and I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. This lady has informed the Committee on Un-American Activities that while she was an undercover operative in the Communist Party she knew you as a member of the Communist Party. Was she telling the truth or was she in error when she identified you in that capacity?

Mr. NORMAN. I exercise the privilege of the fifth amendment and refuse to answer on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of Charles Regan?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Charles Regan swore before this committee in hearings in Buffalo, New York, in October 1957, that he knew you as one of the members of the Communist Party who was sent in by the conspiracy in that area to do some troubleshooting for the conspiracy in industrial establishments. Was he in error in that identification, or was he telling the truth?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you lived here in New York?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to how long he has lived here.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair orders and directs the witness to answer that question.

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. It is the information of this committee that you are, or in the recent past were, the executive secretary of the New York Puerto Rican Communist Party organization. Is that information which the committee has correct, or is it in error?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been in Puerto Rico?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. When did you last leave the continental United States?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently, sir, have information respecting this conspiratorial organization known as the Communist Party which you could supply to the Government of the United States, under whose flag you, as a citizen, have protection?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Bella Dodd?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Have you engaged in any full-time occupation since you reached adulthood in the United States concerning which you could tell this committee without disclosing facts which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. What is the first principal occupation you had after you reached adulthood?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. What is the occupation you had immediately prior to your present occupation?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Charles Coe?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. The Committee on Un-American Activities, through this subcommittee, is here trying to develop information which will assist the United States Congress in attempting to legislatively cope with this conspiratorial force which has caused more bloodshed and human misery than any other force in the history of the globe—in which some 12 million people were slaughtered in Soviet Russia, your former homeland; in which 40 million people were slaughtered in Red China; in which people are held in bondage and deprived of the liberty and freedom which we in this country enjoy—and which we believe is presently attempting to penetrate Puerto Rican nationality groups in this country and in San Juan.

Do you, sir, now have information which you can give this committee under oath respecting that conspiratorial operation so that this committee can report to the United States Congress facts which will help protect the freedom of this great Nation?

Mr. Norman. I exercise the privilege of the fifth amendment and refuse to answer on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Are you this instant a member of that conspiratorial force known as the Communist Party?

Mr. NORMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I just have one question.

I do not recall whether counsel asked the witness anything about his educational background. In view of some of his answers, I think we should get something in the record on this man's educational background or training.

Mr. ARENS. Would you then, please, sir, give the committee at this time a brief summary of your educational background?

Mr. NORMAN. I went to public school, graduated from Public School 109, graduated from DeWitt Clinton High School, attended City College for 2 years.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete your work at City College?

Mr. NORMAN. I refuse to answer on the ground it may tend to incriminate me. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. He has had 2 years of college, as I understand.

Mr. ARENS. Two years at City College.

Mr. SCHERER. That is all I wanted to know. It might appear from the record that the man had not had any educational background.

Mr. TUCK. Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. Stanley Weiss.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WEISS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF STANLEY L. WEISS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL. WERNER L. LOEB

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. WEISS. Stanley L. Weiss, 1236 Pacific Street, Brooklyn; sheet metal mechanic.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. WEISS. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. WEISS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself.

Mr. LOEB. Werner L. Loeb.

Mr. SCHERER. What did you say your occupation was?

Mr. WEISS. Sheet metal mechanic.

Mr. ARENS. For the purpose of identification, have you ever used any name other than the name Stanley Weiss, W-e-i-s-s?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WEISS. Yes, sir; I did. I worked under the name of Stanley Bianco for a number of years, for family reasons.

Mr. ARENS. How do you spell Bianco?

Mr. WEISS. B-i-a-n-c-o.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. WEISS. I was born in the year 1930 in the Bronx, New York.

Mr. ARENS. And a word about your education.

Mr. WEISS. I graduated P. S. 139 in Queens and did a few years in Brooklyn Tech.

Mr. ARENS. I didn't hear you.

Mr. WEISS. I did 2 years of high school in Brooklyn Tech.

Mr. ARENS. Did that complete your education?

Mr. WEISS. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Give us the principal employments you have had since you completed your education.

Mr. WEISS. Sheet metal mechanic.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever traveled to Puerto Rico?

Mr. WEISS. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. WEISS. On the grounds that it may incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel that if you told this committee about any trip or trips you have made to Puerto Rico, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. WEISS. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say the name you used was Bianco?

Mr. WEISS. B-i-a-n-c-o, Bianco, sir. It is a direct translation from "Weiss" in Italian.

Mr. SCHERER. It sounds to me like Puerto Rican.

Mr. ARENS. Have you traveled outside the continental United States any time in the course of the last year?

Mr. WEISS. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you traveled to Puerto Rico in the course of the last few months?

Mr. WEISS. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How many times have you traveled outside the continental United States in the course of the last year?

Mr. WEISS. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever applied for or received a United States passport?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WEISS. The only thing that I recall, sir, is when I was somewhere in the vicinity of 12 years old—and this I am not positive of, it may have been 11 or 13. My mother applied for a passport in which I think my name was included.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever traveled abroad to a country in which a passport is a prerequisite for admission?

Mr. WEISS. Sir, do you mean besides my service in the Armed Forces of the United States?

Mr. ARENS. No, sir. Have you ever traveled outside the continental United States to a country which you must have a United States passport to enter?

It is clear, is it not, a passport is not needed to go to Puerto Rico?

Mr. WEISS. I am sorry; I don't understand and I don't want to answer incorrectly.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever obtained a United States passport for the purpose of traveling to a foreign country?

Mr. WEISS. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you traveled outside the continental United States any time in the course of the last year?

Mr. WEISS. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. How many trips have you made outside the continental United States in the course of the last 2 or 3 years?

Mr. WEISS. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have contacts and do you maintain contacts with people now in San Juan, Puerto Rico?

Mr. WEISS. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WEISS. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. Have you any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have associates in the Puerto Rican community, Mr. Weiss, friends, associates?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WEISS. Sir, would this infer like the fellows that I work with in the shop where I work?

Mr. SCHERER. No. Do you generally associate with people of the Puerto Rican community either here in New York or in San Juan?

Mr. WEISS. I will take my fifth amendment on that, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact, Witness, that you used the name Bianco to lead people in the Puerto Rican community with whom you associated to believe that you are of Puerto Rican or Spanish origin?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WEISS. Sir, on this question, as I said before, this is an Italian name, first of all; and, as I said, it was for a personal reason. I was having certain family difficulties and, as a result, I used another name strictly for that reason.

Mr. SCHERER. I just wondered. We are not interested in your family affairs, although you say that is the reason you used it. But let me ask you: During what years did you use that name—Bianco?

Mr. WEISS. I will have to be somewhat vague on it, sir, but I would say between 1947, perhaps, until about 1948, and into a few months into 1948; somewhere in that general period.

Mr. SCHERER. Just for a year?

Mr. WEISS. A year, year and a half, thereabouts.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. TUCK. Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Jorge W. Maysonet-Hernandez.

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hand to be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF JORGE W. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ,* ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, WERNER L. LOEB (DONALD F. BARNES, INTERPRETER)

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, address, and occupation.

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. My name is Jorge W. Maysonet-Hernandez.

Mr. ARENS. Your residence and occupation?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I live at 594 Marcy Avenue, Brooklyn 6, N.Y.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. My present occupation is a factory worker.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself on this record.

Mr. LOEB. Werner L. Loeb, Nyack, N.Y. 84 Main Street.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I was born 14 years after Yankee invading troops entered Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. And what year was that, please?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. 1912.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word about your education.

Did he give the place of his birth? I believe he gave the date by indirection.

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. In an American colony.

Mr. ARENS. Would you please answer the question?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. Puerto Rico.

Mr. SCHERER. Did he say so many years after Yankee troops—did he mean the United States troops?

Is that what you mean?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you mean that as an insult to the country?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. An insult to the American people? No.

Mr. SCHERER. The chairman wants to know if he meant it as an insult to the American Government. We are in a quandary as to why he fixed his date of birth within so many years of his statement about the Yankee invading troops.

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. No; not as an insult to the United States Government. Just to point out a fact that took place over 50 years ago.

Mr. ARENS. Now give us a word about your education, please.

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I was educated in the colony of Puerto Rico and went through 2 or 3 years of high school under economic conditions equal to those suffered by the majority of the people of Puerto Rico.

I had to abandon my high school studies because of those economic conditions which did not permit my mother, who was a widow with 14 children, to furnish me with the economic means to further my education.

*Member of Provisional Organizing Committee.

Mr. ARENS. Now tell us, please, the principal employments you had after you completed your educational pursuits.

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. After I left high school because of the economic situation which my family was going through, I went to work as an apprentice in a movie theater, learning to be a movie projector, earning for 7 days a week work, \$2.50 a week.

Mr. ARENS. And your next employment, please?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I graduated or obtained a full rating as a movie projector operator and I worked 22 years at that job.

Mr. SCHERER. Where do you work at that job, in Puerto Rico or here?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. In Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Was that your last employment prior to coming to the United States?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. Last and only.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any job in Puerto Rico, other than as a motion picture projector?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I would like to know what the committee means by the word "job." What other job I had. Does it mean remunerative work, paid work?

Mr. ARENS. Let's start with non-remunerative work. Did you have any other assignment, any other job, any other post, official or otherwise?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I invoke the fifth amendment because it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Were you secretary of labor of the Municipal Committee of the Communist Party in San Juan?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I invoke the fifth and the first amendments on the ground that the answer to this may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now for translation by your translator an article appearing in the American press, in October 1954, entitled "Ten Top Reds In Puerto Rico Seized by FBI."

In the course of the article, the following appears, in a list of the top Puerto Rican Reds who were rounded up by the FBI: "Jorge W. Maysonet-Hernandez, 40. Has served as secretary of labor of the Municipal Committee of the party in San Juan, Puerto Rico. A member of the party since 1943."

Please ask your translator, who sits at your right, Mr. Witness, to translate the excerpt there which I read to you, and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not those facts recited are true and correct.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I invoke the fifth amendment, and the first.

(Document marked "Maysonet-Hernandez Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Were you one of the top Reds, namely, Communists, in San Juan in 1954, prior to your coming to the United States?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been convicted of a criminal offense?
(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. No.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been indicted?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I invoke the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States on the grounds that the answer to this may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you lived in the United States?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. I am referring to the continental United States.

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. Well, after the internal security laws of the so-called Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, which is really a title which is a screen that is used to hide the status of a colony under which Puerto Rico exists, and the fact that the American FBI made it impossible for me to earn a living in Puerto Rico, I was forced to come to the United States in order for myself and my family not to die of starvation.

Mr. SCHERER. That answer is a little hard to understand, namely, that the FBI made it difficult for him to live in Puerto Rico. If that charge were true, wouldn't they do the same thing in the United States? Couldn't they do it more effectively in the United States? I don't like that indictment of the FBI.

Mr. ARENS. What year was it when you came to the continental United States?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. About 2 years ago.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist conspiratorial operation at that time—when you came to the continental United States from San Juan?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. Well, my opinion and my point of view is that I am not a conspirator, as you have said. All of my life I fought to obtain freedom for my country, for the land in which I was born, and if we are going to view the struggle of the Puerto Ricans to obtain their independence from American imperialism as a conspiracy, then we would have to come to the conclusion that George Washington, who created this great Republic and this great democracy, was also a conspirator against the English empire.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us if, when you came to the United States, you were a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I invoke the fifth and first amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently maintain contacts with persons known by you to be members of the Communist Party in Puerto Rico?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I invoke the first and the fifth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I invoke the fifth and first amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. To your certain knowledge, is the Communist Party an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I believe that the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, as is the case with any other organization that is fighting for the freedom of Puerto Rico, has a right to do so, because force and violence and their existence are determined by circumstances and by the position of reaction. That is my answer.

Mr. TUCK. The words he uses are argumentative and not in response to the question.

Mr. ARENS. Would you please announce to him the observation made by the chairman?

(Mr. Barnes, the interpreter, informed the witness.)

Mr. ARENS. I should say, however, Mr. Chairman, it may have been most helpful, because by indirection he has given confirmation to information this committee has, that the Communist operation is dedicated to force and violence and that is the line which the party announces to the comrades, namely, that although they do employ force and violence to obtain their objectives, it is only a force and violence to meet a situation which is created by forces which they describe as imperialistic forces. In other words, by undertaking to surround themselves with the aura of respectability, the Communist Party is, by that type of answer, confirming the very fact which has been a fundamental assumption of the congressional committees—that the party does engage in and advocate force and violence.

Under what circumstances does the Communist Party, to your certain knowledge, sanction the use of force and violence?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I invoke the fifth and the first amendment because I think that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me because this committee uses as a point of departure the premise that the Communist Party of Puerto Rico is a conspiratorial organization.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this very instant, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now currently engaged in Communist Party activities in and among the Puerto Rican nationality group in New York City and between that group and the Puerto Rican operation in San Juan?

Mr. MAYSONET-HERNANDEZ. This is something that I see from a social viewpoint. Here in New York we have a Puerto Rican minority which, together with the American Negroes and all of the citizens from the Latin American countries, are living under extremely low, in an extremely bad economic situation. They are miserably exploited by industrialists, by people who have the power of money in their hands, and they live in the utmost of miserable slums where they have rats that even get to kill their children.

I participate in all of these struggles as a citizen in trying to defend the rights of all of these people.

Mr. SCHERER. Here is a man who makes that last statement, and he tells us just a few minutes ago that, in order to escape FBI persecution and American imperialism in Puerto Rico, he came 2,000 miles to the

continental United States. He gets here and he has the same complaints.

Then he also wants to leave the impression that the Government of the United States wants to keep Puerto Rico as a possession, that we are practicing imperialism. Eighty percent of the Puerto Ricans don't want their independence.

This Member of Congress, and I know a lot more, feels that any time the people of Puerto Rico want their independence, we are ready to give it to them.

But 80 percent of your people don't want it. It costs us a lot of money to have Puerto Rico as part of the Government of the United States. No more do the people of Puerto Rico want their independence than the people of Alaska and Hawaii, who were for years petitioning this country for statehood.

The Philippines wanted their freedom, and we gave it to them. Don't leave the idea here that Puerto Rico is being kept a possession of the United States against the will of the Puerto Rican people and that there is a practice of American imperialism. That is a line that the Communists are using all through the Caribbean today. Let's get the record straight.

If you give it to them, they don't want it, and, as I say, 80 percent of these Puerto Ricans are loyal American citizens and they are the ones that insist on remaining part of the United States.

I will point out to you that it would save us a lot of money and the City of New York a lot of money if you did have your independence. Don't come here and tell us that we are practicing imperialism and then complain about the conditions you create.

Mr. ARENS. This morning Detective Blauvelt, of the New York City Police Department, who is an expert on penetration by Communist conspirators of nationality bloc groups here in this area, stated that the Communists use issues, social issues, which they exploit for Communist objectives.

You have recited here on this record, a few moments ago, your intense activities in the area of housing, poverty, and the like, endured by the Puerto Rican nationality group in New York City.

Now tell this committee, while you are under oath, is your activity among Puerto Rican groups, on these various issues which you have announced, as a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAY-ONET-HERNANDEZ. I invoke the fifth and first amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. That will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TUCK. Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness will be Ramon Acevedo.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. TUCK. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ACEVEDO. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF RAMON ACEVEDO,* ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
IRA GOLLOBIN**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, address, and occupation.

Mr. ACEVEDO. My name is Ramon Acevedo; I reside at 161 East 36th Street, Canarsie, Brooklyn, New York. I am a manual laborer, working in New York City.

I was born, as stated before, in a colony of the United States of America. I was born—let's see how well I remember—I was born, I believe, on a date that is very dear to the Irish people. It was near midnight I was born, so I believe my birth certificate states that I was born on the 18th of March, but my mother, I don't know, luckily or coincidentally, was born on the same date. When I was about four or five, when I began to know the facts of life, she used to say "Come here, Ramoncito, my little boy; I am going to tell you something."

Mr. ARENS. The question is when you were born, tell us that, and then you can go on with the other recitation. We would like to have a direct answer, if you please.

Mr. ACEVEDO. I am getting to that. I believe that you need a certain amount of morality and moral strength to get to your point. I am trying to help to give you a true and correct answer, but in my own way, and also in a way that might please you.

Well, my mother said to me, "I am going to call you Patrick, or that is my intention, to call you Patrick." But I was her first baby, and there is a Saint Raymond [Nonnatus] who is the patron saint of women who are pregnant. So instead of Patrick, she made a vow and called me Ramon after Saint Raymond.

Mr. ARENS. Now tell us when you were born, please.

Mr. ACEVEDO. Gentleman, I am coming to that, if you please.

Mr. SCHERER. I hope you answer as fully when we get to the questions about Communist Party activities.

Mr. ACEVEDO. I will, if you allow me. You had some trained seals here who spoke for a half hour or so and never interrupted them, so please let me talk.

There is a story she told me in reference to my birth.

Mr. ARENS. Who are the trained seals you are talking about?

Mr. ACEVEDO. Sir?

Mr. ARENS. Trained seals.

Mr. ACEVEDO. Did I say trained seals?

Mr. ARENS. I understood you to say "trained seals here."

Mr. ACEVEDO. No. I must be thinking out loud. Excuse me.

She said, "I wish I could call you Patrick because this Patrick was a gentleman who lived in Ireland many, many years ago, and he was quite a man. Ireland was full of snakes, rotten, bad snakes, who are devastating the farms and molesting the population."

My mother said, "I like Saint Patrick very much, because Saint Patrick somehow didn't like the snakes. They were bad. They were intimidating the people, destroying crops."

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest this witness now at his peril be ordered and directed to answer the question directly and not to subject the Committee on Un-American Activities to this type

*Member of Provisional Organizing Committee.

of indirect harassing operation in which this man is undertaking to indulge.

The question is perfectly clear, and the answer is perfectly simple. I will pose it one more time. Then I am going to request the Chair to order you to answer. If you do not, I am going to request the entire committee to refer this record to the Department of Justice.

Please tell us when you were born.

Mr. ACEVEDO. If you will let me.

Mr. TUCK. The committee will not be subjected to a filibuster on the part of the witness. You are ordered and directed to answer the question. It is a direct question and can be answered in a few words.

Mr. ACEVEDO. Are you trying to tell me that I came here to be browbeaten, to be intimidated, to be exposed?

Mr. ARENS. I shall not pursue the question further. The record is clear. You have declined to answer it.

Now, sir, give us a word about your education.

Mr. ACEVEDO. I would never decline to answer your question.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the question with respect to education. We will see whether or not this Committee of the United States Congress is going to be harassed by this witness in this smart-aleck procedure.

Please tell this committee a word about your education, sir, and if you proceed in this arena of harassment, I will then proceed to the next question; and this record, I tell you now, not in the nature of a threat, but as a warning, will be submitted to the Department of Justice with an appropriate recommendation by the committee.

Give this committee, now, sir, a word about your education.

Mr. TUCK. You are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. ACEVEDO. Don't lose your head. What are you going to think with?

Mr. ARENS. Now I respectfully suggest the witness be asked one more question.

Please tell us when you came to the United States. If you do not answer that question, sir, directly, fairly, and with proper decorum, I respectfully admonish you that this record will be referred to the Department of Justice with a recommendation for appropriate action.

Now, sir, tell this committee when you came to the United States.

Mr. ACEVEDO. Do you think that ethics is just——

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be requested to answer still one more question.

Please tell us, sir, where you are employed.

Mr. SCHERER. He hasn't been directed to answer the previous question.

Mr. TUCK. I order and direct you to answer the question of counsel as to when you came to the United States.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. I request that he be ordered and directed to answer several of the preceding questions.

Mr. SCHERER. We have asked him. Proceed to the next question.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. ACEVEDO. Where am I employed?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ACEVEDO. Well, where am I employed?

Mr. SCHIERER. I request that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. I order and direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. ACEVEDO. I said I was in manual labor.

By the way, may I have some water? My lips are dry.

Mr. SCHIERER. Mr. Chairman, I move the witness be dismissed.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to pose one question with reference to Communist Party membership or activities.

Mr. TUCK. Proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, you have deprived this committee of preliminary information which we felt was essential to the development of certain facts which we think you have. It is obvious on this record from your demeanor that you have done so with an attitude of contempt toward this committee of the United States Congress.

I will ask you one question: Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ACEVEDO. Am I a member of what?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. He asked you whether or not you are now a member of the Communist Party. The Chair orders and directs you to answer the question.

Mr. ACEVEDO. You know, I never thought——

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. ACEVEDO. Am I excused?

Mr. TUCK. The witness——

Mr. ACEVEDO. You people can't take it.

Mr. TUCK. It is obvious that the witness does not intend to answer the questions.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. Victor Agosto.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. SCHIERER. Mr. Chairman and counsel, before the next witness is sworn, I want to say that the preceding witness was so obviously in contempt, and the record shows it, that I move that this subcommittee recommend to the full committee that the witness be cited for contempt of Congress.

Mr. TUCK. The motion of the gentleman from Ohio will be presented to the full committee at the next regular session.

I would like the record also to show the general demeanor of the preceding witness, the one who refused to testify, in order that that might be made a part of the record for consideration at the appropriate time.

Mr. ARENS. Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. TUCK. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. AGOSTO. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF VICTOR AGOSTO,* ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
IRA GOLLOBIN**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. AGOSTO. My name is Victor Agosto. I am a general worker.

Mr. ARENS. And your residence?

Mr. AGOSTO. 2310 Second Avenue.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. AGOSTO. I beg your pardon?

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you?

Mr. AGOSTO. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. AGOSTO. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself.

Mr. GOLLOBIN. Ira Gollobin.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. AGOSTO. I was born in 1922, June 1922, in Puerto Rico, or in the Virgin Islands. I am not sure because I don't have my record, but from what my mother said, I was in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. AGOSTO. I believe around 1946.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, please, a word about your education prior to the time that you reached adulthood.

Mr. AGOSTO. Primary school and that is all.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed at your present place of employment?

Mr. AGOSTO. Around two years and a half.

Mr. ARENS. What is your place of employment?

Mr. AGOSTO. How was that?

Mr. ARENS. Where are you working?

Mr. AGOSTO. 885 138th Street.

Mr. ARENS. What do you do there?

Mr. AGOSTO. Anything. Everything. I am a general worker.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been here in the United States?

Mr. AGOSTO. I would like to retract my previous statement where I said I think around 1946. I think it was 1943.

Mr. ARENS. You have lived here since 1943?

Mr. AGOSTO. 1943.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been back to Puerto Rico since 1943?

Mr. AGOSTO. No, I have not.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been in correspondence with anyone in Puerto Rico since 1943?

Mr. AGOSTO. I would like, before I answer this question, to know what is behind the purpose to ask this question.

Mr. ARENS. This Committee on Un-American Activities—and I notice you have been sitting there all day, so you heard what we are doing—is trying to develop factual information pursuant to which this committee can report to the United States Congress on Communists and Communist activities, so that the committee can appraise the ad-

*Member of Provisional Organizing Committee.

ministration and operation of our security laws and so that this committee can consider proposals for changes in those laws.

Now, answer the question.

Mr. AGOSTO. I would like to know how will this help—the people I correspond with.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. AGOSTO. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that it might incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, do you have, as a Communist, contacts which you are developing and operating with in Puerto Rico?

Mr. AGOSTO. Knowing that the committee is saying that it is trying to, let us say, unlock a conspiring of the Communist Party, knowing this to be just a persecution, I guess, against not only Communists, but against all progressive people, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you get the idea that Communists are progressive people? Do you have that notion?

Mr. AGOSTO. I have no such thing. That is your words.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend the Sixteenth National Convention of the Communist Party in February of 1957 held here in New York City?

Mr. AGOSTO. I decline to answer that question because I know that it will tend to incriminate me, and it will serve no purpose if I answer either way.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the answer? I didn't hear it.

Mr. ARENS. I couldn't get it. Something about it would serve no purpose.

Are you active now as a Communist among the Puerto Rican national group in New York City?

Mr. AGOSTO. I decline to answer it on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. Counsel may call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness will be Michael Crenovich.

Please come forward and remain standing to be sworn.

Mr. TUCK. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL CRENOVICH, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, IRA GOLLOBIN

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. CRENOVICH. My name is Michael Crenovich. I live in New York City. I am a printing pressman.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Since this question would obviously cause embarrassment to my employer and might mean the end of my employment, I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by this committee?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Sorry.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by this committee?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself.

Mr. GOLLOBIN. Ira Gollobin.

Mr. ARENS. Do you speak Spanish?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Under what circumstances did you learn Spanish?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I was educated in South America.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Argentina.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Brooklyn, New York.

Mr. ARENS. When did you leave Brooklyn for South America?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Sometime in 1929.

Mr. ARENS. And what year were you born?

Mr. CRENOVICH. 1925.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you then live in South America, or in Argentina?

Mr. CRENOVICH. To about 1946.

Mr. ARENS. Were you educated there?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And when did you return to the United States?

Mr. CRENOVICH. 1946. I was drafted by the Army and I was brought back to the United States by the Army to serve in it.

Mr. ARENS. And when were you discharged from the Army?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Fifteen months later; sometime in 1947.

Mr. ARENS. Give us the principal employments you have had since 1947.

Mr. CRENOVICH. Office clerk and as a printing pressman.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Office clerk and printing pressman.

Mr. ARENS. Are those the only occupations in which you have been engaged?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been an instructor in any institutions?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. CRENOVICH. I will claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. We will lay before you now, if you please, sir, a thermo-fax reproduction of The Worker of March 8, 1959, page 15, in which is set forth courses of instruction being taught at the Faculty of Social Science.

Among the courses taught is a course on "Latin America Today" by Michael Crenovich.

Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not that designation of yourself as an instructor in "Latin America Today" at the Faculty of Social Science is a true and correct designation.

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Crenovich Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you, or have you in the recent past been, business manager of a publication called "Liberación"?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. You didn't tell us about this professional activity when I asked you a little while ago about all of your employments, did you? (The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. CRENOVICH. I might not have recalled every instance, every job I might have had during that period.

Mr. ARENS. This was in 1949, when you were business manager of *Liberación*; isn't that correct?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. CRENOVICH. I will decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You have told us that you speak Spanish and lived in a Spanish-speaking land for some time. What does "*Liberación*" mean?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. CRENOVICH. It means "liberation" in Spanish.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a thermofax reproduction of the masthead of this publication. We have the page from the May 7, 1949, issue of *Liberación*, in which "Miguel Crenovitch" is listed as business manager of this publication here in New York City.

Please look at that and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not that designation of yourself as business manager of this publication is correct.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Crenovich Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently working among the Puerto Rican nationality group in New York City?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been to Puerto Rico?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. CRENOVICH. I will decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. When was the last speech you gave in Spanish to any group or organization?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I will decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make a speech on May Day in Spanish?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I observe in this exhibit, another issue of *The Worker*—April 26, 1959, a course that you teach on "U.S. and Latin America" at the Faculty of Social Science. It is a 5-week course. We wouldn't undertake to have you give us the entire course now, but could you give us the subject matter that you teach there at this Faculty of Social Science and some of the highlights of your course on United States and Latin America?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Crenovich Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you teach friendly relationship between your Nation, under whose flag you have protection, and Latin America?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you teach the Communist line with respect to United States and Latin America?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you teach any courses on the United States and the Caribbean area?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Arens, at the beginning of your questioning of this witness you offered in evidence a magazine or a newspaper entitled "Liberación," which means "Liberation." Have we had that publication translated?

Mr. ARENS. Not that particular publication.

Mr. SCHERER. Liberation from what?

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps the witness can help. He was business manager of the publication.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the purpose of the title of that magazine or publication?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you submit that to the expert translator we have from the State Department? Maybe he can look it over tonight and tell us about it tomorrow.

Mr. ARENS. I will be happy to do so. It may even have been translated, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I would like to know the objective of that publication.

Mr. ARENS. We have not pursued that. We expect to do so, however, as we get into this particular phase of the Communist operation.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that magazine or publication still in circulation today?

Mr. ARENS. We will have to ask the witness.

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TUCK. Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness will be Angel Rene Torres.

Mr. TUCK. Raise your right hand to be sworn.

You do solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TORRES. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ANGEL RENE TORRES,* ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, IRA GOLLOBIN

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. TORRES. My name is Angel Rene Torres. I reside at 42 Avenue B, New York City. I am a blacklisted seaman by profession.

*Member of Provisional Organizing Committee.

I have been a steelworker, carried bananas on the docks, worked at every trade that I could possibly make a living at as a result of the persecution I have undergone for my political views and for my opinions on general matters.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Torres, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. TORRES. Would you repeat that?

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you?

Mr. TORRES. Yes, sir; and I would like to——

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. TORRES. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. GOLLOBIN. Ira Gollobin.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. TORRES. I was born in the colony of Puerto Rico on the 30th year of the American occupation.

Mr. ARENS. What year was that, please, sir?

Mr. TORRES. 1928.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you talking about American occupation?

Mr. TORRES. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Puerto Rico was under Spanish rule at the same time Cuba was, wasn't it?

Mr. TORRES. Are you asking me?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes. Didn't the Americans liberate Cuba and Puerto Rico from Spanish rule?

Mr. TORRES. We have an old saying in Spanish that says "You get off so I can get on," and I think that is what happened.

Mr. SCHERER. I think Cuba got its independence and Puerto Rico could have, but it didn't want it. Isn't that the record?

Mr. TORRES. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. It isn't?

Mr. TORRES. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you studied your history?

Mr. TORRES. Not your history. The history of the people and of Puerto Rico.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't Puerto Rico part of the United States?

Mr. TORRES. It most certainly is not.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you consider yourself a citizen of the United States?

Mr. TORRES. I am a citizen by birth.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to clear up that occupation, but we can go ahead.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word, please, about your education.

Mr. TORRES. I was educated in the grammar schools of Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come from Puerto Rico to New York?

Mr. TORRES. I was approximately 4 years old.

Mr. ARENS. And proceed, if you please, to give us a word about your education.

Mr. TORRES. As I said, I was educated in the grammar schools of New York. I went to high school a couple of years in New York and then was forced, as a result of the economic situation in the family, to go to work at approximately the age of 15.

I then went to sea, and the rest of my education has been picked up on board the ships throughout the world, as a worker, in general, in various trades, as I mentioned, and in particular through reading.

Mr. SCHERER. You said you were blacklisted and that is the reason you can't work as a seaman any more. Who blacklisted you?

Mr. TORRES. Well, that case is a well-known, celebrated case. It has been ruled on by various courts of the country. It is the case of seamen who were denied due process and being deprived of their right to earn a living aboard American ships. The case has been in court for approximately 9 or 10 years.

The Appellate Court, I believe, in California ruled that the defendants—of which I was one of the victims, and 1,800 other seamen—were not granted due process and ordered the Coast Guard to return us our seaman papers.

Mr. SCHERER. Did this case arise out of Communist Party membership?

Mr. TORRES. Well, you will have to ask the Coast Guard that.

Mr. SCHERER. You know all about the case. You were a defendant. I don't remember it, but I would like to know out of what it arose. You certainly weren't charged with smuggling, were you? What were you charged with?

Mr. TORRES. We were charged with practically everything under the sun. That implies and denotes some kind of political sin in this country. Seamen are radical people because they get around; they see a lot.

Mr. SCHERER. "Everything under the sun"? You were charged with everything under the sun? One of the things you were charged with was being part of the Communist apparatus, were you not?

Mr. TORRES. I don't know whether that was in it.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't know that?

Mr. TORRES. I don't know whether that was in it.

Mr. SCHERER. You know you are under oath, don't you?

Mr. TORRES. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. You say you don't know. Wasn't that the basic charge?

Mr. TORRES. The basic charge I don't recall. I would have to refer to my bill of particulars from the Coast Guard, and I don't have that available at the moment.

Mr. ARENS. Well, as of the time your papers were lifted as a seaman, were you then a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me and the ground of the first amendment and every blessed amendment to the U.S. Constitution which I defend and uphold.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were in the Armed Forces?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. What other occupations have you engaged in, in addition to these occupations which you have recited for the committee here today?

Mr. TORRES. Could you read me back the ones I cited so I will know which ones I did not cite?

Mr. ARENS. Well, you told about your longshoreman's activities, principally—or your maritime activity, I should say, principally. Have you had any occupations in the editorial field?

Mr. TORRES. I have done a little free-lance writing.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us about that?

Mr. TORRES. Well, it was not very successful.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had any other editorial occupations in which you have engaged?

Mr. TORRES. I have written a little poetry.

Mr. ARENS. Anything else you have done in the editorial occupation?

Mr. TORRES. Well, to the best of my recollection, that is about all the writing I have done.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been connected with Vanguard?*

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Was your memory just failing you there a few moments ago when I was asking you about your editorial occupations, or did you just not want to tell us about your connection with Vanguard?

Mr. SCHERER. He has a poor memory. He couldn't remember what the charges were arising out of which he said he was blacklisted.

Mr. ARENS. Were you editor of Vanguard?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a copy of Vanguard, which has as its masthead "The Marxist-Leninist Vanguard." "Without a Revolutionary Theory There can be no Revolutionary Practice!" "Workers of the World Unite."

Please look at that and tell us whether or not you were editor of that Communist publication.

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

(Document marked "Torres Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. This particular issue, as you will observe, which was laid before you there, is relatively current. May I have it back, please? This is the issue of October 1959, a short time ago.

Have you been back to Puerto Rico since you left?

Mr. TORRES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Over how many times in the course of the last few years have you gone there? Give us an idea.

Mr. TORRES. I have been there as a seaman in 1947 and I believe that was the last visit or—yes, 1947 or 1948, maybe.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us about your activities in behalf of the 12 who were in difficulty here at Foley Square some few years ago?

Mr. TORRES. Twelve what?

Mr. ARENS. The 12 who were tried here at Foley Square some few years ago.

Mr. TORRES. Are you referring to the Communist leaders?

Mr. ARENS. Yes. Can you tell us about your connection and activities on their behalf?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you now a thermofax reproduction of an article in the Communist Daily Worker of June 22, 1949, entitled

*Official publication of the Provisional Organizing Committee.

"Form Maritime Body For Defense of '12.'" The article states in part:

A Maritime Committee for the Defense of the '12' has been organized * * *, it was announced yesterday.

And you are among those listed who are participating in this movement.

Kindly look at that document and tell this committee whether or not the article refreshes your recollection with reference to your participation in behalf of the 12 Communists who were convicted here at Foley Square some few years ago.

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

(Document marked "Torres Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Who was Al Lannon?

Mr. TORRES. Is that a question?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. You were chairman of the committee to defend Al Lannon, were you not?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Lannon was chairman of the Maritime Commission of the Communist Party of America, was he not?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a thermofax copy of the West Coast paper of the Communist Party [Daily People's World, Dec. 18, 1951] in which it tells about your being chairman and your activities in behalf of the Maritime Labor Committee to Defend Al Lannon.

Please look at that thermofax reproduction and tell the committee whether or not it refreshes your recollection with reference to your activities on his behalf.

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

(Document marked "Torres Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. What have you done on behalf of the Communist Party south of the border?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a thermofax reproduction of an article in The Worker of April 27, 1952, telling about the activities of a number of people at a Western Hemisphere meeting held in Uruguay that year, in which a number of people were participants, including Angel Torres.

Tell this committee, were your activities in that meeting such that you have to invoke the fifth amendment to protect yourself against criminal prosecution?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question?

Mr. TORRES. Would you repeat the question?

Mr. ARENS. Are you obliged to protect yourself now by invoking the provisions of the fifth amendment against criminal indictment with reference to your activities in Uruguay?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

(Document marked "Torres Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. What aliases have you used in the course of this career of yours over the world?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever used the name Armando Marino?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that you did use the name of Armando Marino in your activities on behalf of this conspiratorial force known as the Communist Party. If that isn't true, deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever sign an article "A. Marino"?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know of a publication circulating among seamen entitled "Voice of the Membership"?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Or a publication circulating among maritime people entitled "The Independent Caucus"?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. You were one of the sponsors of each of those publications, were you not?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Both of those publications were Communist publications, were they not?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. What has been your connection with a publication entitled "Port-Light"?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a photostatic reproduction of a publication entitled "Port-Light," April 1959, and on the very mast-head appears this: "Issued by Communists on the Waterfront."

Kindly look at this document and tell this committee what has been your connection with this publication.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

(Document marked "Torres Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently have current information respecting Communist activities, principally among the Puerto Rican nationality

group in the United States, in New York City, which you can now relate to this Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States Congress so that this committee can report to the Congress those facts and help preserve this country against this conspiratorial force?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TORRES. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Armando Roman, please come forward.

Mr. SCHIERER. Let me ask Mr. Arens a question.

Am I correct that the definition of treason in the Constitution involves the giving of aid and comfort to the enemy in time of war?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHIERER. That refers, of course, to an actual shooting war?

Mr. ARENS. I don't know that the actual definition of war has been construed by the courts. But it certainly is a fact to all those who know the nature and force of this Communist conspiracy that the Soviet empire, numbering 900 million they have in their grip, is at war with the world, with the United States as its principal target now.

Mr. SCHIERER. It is what we refer to as a cold war.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHIERER. And there has been no interpretation yet of that provision of the Constitution, namely, that treason constitutes giving aid and comfort to an enemy, as applicable to a cold war?

Mr. ARENS. I will have to confess I haven't pursued the cases on that, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. TUCK. Will the witness be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ARMANDO ROMAN,* ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, WERNER L. LOEB

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. ROMAN. My name is Armando Roman. I live at No. 167 East Second Street in New York City. My occupation is food worker.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. ROMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. ROMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself.

Mr. LOEB. Werner L. Loeb, 84 Main Street, Nyack, New York.

*Member of Provisional Organizing Committee.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Roman, before we proceed further, I would like to direct your attention to a report of a meeting* held on November 6, 1959, here in New York City, which this committee has by its investigative processes received from unimpeachable sources.

I want to read you the essence of the report in so far as it is applicable to you.

Armando Roman was the last speaker. He spoke on the Soviet Seven Year Plan. He predicted that in the Soviet Union there would soon be no difference between town and country and that the different "Republics" of the Soviet Union would merge, Russian, Ukrainian, Turman, etc. And that soon the "People's Democracies" of Eastern Europe would also merge with them. At the end of the Seven Year Plan, said Roman, Soviet production would match that of the U.S. At that time the Communists would no longer be in favor of "Peaceful Co-Existence." After the Soviet Union overtakes the U.S. the Capitalist nations will commit suicide or otherwise fall into the hands of the workers.

Now, sir, this has come to this Committee on Un-American Activities from an informant of unimpeachable integrity and reliability who was in attendance at that session. Please tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not the facts and words I just cited were in truth uttered by yourself on November 6, 1959.

Mr. ROMAN. I want to be permitted to say what I said at that time, and that will answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. Go right ahead.

Mr. ROMAN. I said that the peoples of the Soviet Union, 87 nations and nationalities, have been welded together under the state of the working class in the Soviet Union, and they have forced unity and they are marching together.

For instance, the Soviet nationalities and nations that were very backward at one time now are an integral part of the Soviet state, respected as citizens, with full rights—economic, political, and otherwise—in contrast with my own country, Puerto Rico, which is the most oppressed nation in the Western Hemisphere. The fact is that all Latin Americans exist as oppressed nations under the heel of American imperialism. That is one thing I said. Let me continue.

I also said that, as a result of the attainment and achievement of the 7-year plan, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries would surpass the per capita production of all the capitalist world and that, as a result, the capitalist imperialists would have no recourse but die as a result of a war that they would start or explode as a result of economic pressure that would occur.

I also said at that time when I spoke there, and I am telling you what I said, I am not pulling any punches, I am responsible for what I say and I said it. I also said that the Latin American peoples have joined together with the whole colonial peoples of the world and refuse to be chattels any more for any imperialism, not even American imperialism. That I said.

Mr. ARENS. When you made that speech, were you then, on November 6, 1959, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMAN. The first amendment of the American Constitution gives me the right to think, the right to free expression, the right to free association and, as such, I have a right to believe whatever I feel like.

*Of the Provisional Organizing Committee.

At the same time, because of the present persecution that exists, I will appeal to the fifth amendment as well.

Mr. SCHERER. This Constitution which you now are invoking and which you talk so highly of is the very Constitution that you would destroy by a speech like that, the very speech you made.

Do you know how much money the people of the United States have taxed themselves in order to give to other peoples in the form of foreign aid, including the people of Puerto Rico and the people of South America?

Do you know how much we have taxed ourselves in order to give of our substance to help these countries that you are talking about being under the heel of American imperialism? I don't believe you even know.

How much since 1945 have we given in foreign aid to South American countries and to all of the countries of the world?

Mr. ROMAN. I will tell you, Mr. Chairman, how much help has been given. Latin America today, on direct investments alone, \$1½ billion are suctioned out of the people of South America. That is why you see the squalor and misery and that is what gives rise to the Nixon incidents south of the border. It is not the Communists. It is the imperialists.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us the sources of your information.

Mr. ROMAN. The peoples of Latin America.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us the sources of your information.

Mr. ROMAN. The sources of my information are the periodicals in Latin America, all over.

Mr. ARENS. What are your sources of information respecting the situation now in the Soviet Union, which you incorporated in your speech? Tell us that, please.

Mr. ROMAN. The sources of information? Your very Times, the Times of New York, publishes this thing every day in the week.

Mr. ARENS. Have you any other sources of information respecting what is going on in the United States?

Mr. ROMAN. I gave you one source. I will give you the Wall Street Journal.

Mr. ARENS. Have you others?

Mr. ROMAN. Surely. I have the Soviet publications to read also.

Mr. ARENS. What publications do you read of the Soviets?

Mr. ROMAN. Whatever I can get my hands on.

Mr. ARENS. What are those?

Mr. ROMAN. I don't recall the titles.

Mr. ARENS. Do you read the Soviet publications that come into New York in the Spanish language?

Mr. ROMAN. I don't have to read it in Spanish language. It is chauvinism that you people have that you think I can't read any other language.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us the publications that you read in the English language which emanate from the Soviet Union.

Mr. ROMAN. I said I read the Times, any paper, including, yes, Soviet publications.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us the names of the Soviet publications.

Mr. ROMAN. I just told you, any publications.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of one?

Mr. ROMAN. Well, for instance, New Times; that is one.

Mr. ARENS. What is another one that you read?

Mr. ROMAN. I can't recall any other just now.

Mr. ARENS. Is New Times one of the sources of your information respecting what is going on in the Soviet Union?

Mr. ROMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are there any other publications emanating from any Iron Curtain country which is a source of your information?

Mr. ROMAN. I don't know what you call "Iron Curtain" country; explain it to me.

Mr. ARENS. Any of the countries which are the captives of the Communist imperialism. Do you read any publications from Hungary?

Mr. ROMAN. Look, my country is captive.

Mr. ARENS. Do you read any publications from Hungary?

Mr. ROMAN. Latin America is captive nations.

Mr. ARENS. What is your country that is a captive?

Mr. ROMAN. Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. ROMAN. I was born 7 years after the occupation.

By the way, Mr. Committeeman said Puerto Rico was free. Puerto Rico was on the way to full freedom because they fought together with Cuba, and both of them were thrown back into slavery.

Mr. ARENS. Based upon your study of what is going on in the Soviet empire, could you tell us whether or not Hungary is free?

Mr. ROMAN. Hungary is free, and my country is not, and Latin America is not. Just look——

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say Hungary is free?

Mr. ROMAN. Hungary is free. And Cuba, you read in the Times the day before yesterday what was said about American imperialism.

Mr. ARENS. What is the source of your information that Hungary is free?

Mr. ROMAN. My source of information? What they are doing for themselves that I read over the American press.

Mr. ARENS. Is Hungary under any domination or control of the Soviet Union?

Mr. ROMAN. Not that I know of; not at all.

Mr. ARENS. Is Czechoslovakia free?

Mr. ROMAN. Free, absolutely free.

Mr. ARENS. Is it under any domination of the Soviet empire?

Mr. ROMAN. Not at all.

Mr. ARENS. Are the Baltic States?

Mr. ROMAN. No. But Ecuador, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Colombia, all of these countries are under the heel.

Mr. ARENS. Is Poland free?

Mr. ROMAN. Not at all. Chile is.

Mr. ARENS. Is East Germany free of Soviet domination?

Mr. ROMAN. Free, absolutely.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you read East Germany was free of Soviet domination? Did you read that in the New York Times?

Mr. ROMAN. Yes, I read it in the New York Times. I will tell you how. The Soviet Union has receded all the way from Eastern Ger-

many, which the American imperialists have not done in Western Germany.

Mr. ARENS. Do they have slave labor camps in the Soviet Union?

Mr. ROMAN. No, but I know this—

Mr. ARENS. You know they do not have? What is the source of your information?

Mr. ROMAN. I do know this: 700 Puerto Rican kids were arrested only 3 weeks ago in New York, and you talk about labor camps. Don't talk to me about force and violence in this respect. I will recall to you the massacre of Puerto Ricans in 1935 at the University of Puerto Rico. I will recall to you the Sunday massacre of 1937, the Palm Sunday massacre.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Communist Party advocate the use of force and violence?

Mr. ROMAN. It is the imperialists that use force and violence. Look what happened in 1936 in Morocco.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Communist Party advocate force and violence?

Mr. ROMAN. The Algerian people called a march on Congress to petition, and what happened? De Gaulle shot down 24,000 Algerians, and when the Puerto Rican people are calling now in a Congress to petition in this Congress for a peaceful Congress for the 20th of November, you call these meetings in order to squash that petition of freedom.

Mr. ARENS. Now please tell us does the Communist Party advocate the use of force and violence?

Mr. ROMAN. The Communist Party knows that the ones that use the force and violence are the imperialists, all the Communists of the world.

Mr. ARENS. Do the Communists use force and violence in Hungary?

Mr. ROMAN. I am telling you where they have been using force and violence, and threatening like they did, threatened Venezuela, when Nixon came in from Latin America.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, sir, did the Communist Party use force and violence in Hungary?

Mr. ROMAN. The Communist Party was the victim of imperialist force and violence and Fascist force and violence in Hungary; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us in view of all of the announcements you have made what you and your associates are doing about the situation here in New York City?

Mr. ROMAN. I am telling you what we are doing.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to have you tell us what you are doing.

Mr. ROMAN. You should call to this committee Mr. Abe Stark, the president of the New York City Council.

Mr. ARENS. Let's start with you.

Mr. ROMAN. I will tell you something. Only a week ago he published what you would say came from Moscow, and what did he say? He said the Puerto Ricans here, the Mexicans, the Negro, and the Indians are victimized all over the United States, and he also said the Puerto Ricans here in New York, being 10 percent, together with the Negroes, of the total population, have 40 percent of the debts.

Mr. SCHERER. Why do you stay here? Why don't you go over there where everything is perfect?

Mr. ROMAN. I belong here. I am a worker. The American imperialists got there. They didn't ask me. They didn't ask my father. They threw him off the land, together with thousands of Puerto Ricans, for the Southern Puerto Rican Sugar Company, for the Eastern Sugar Company. That is what the Cubans are protesting. That is what the Panamanians are doing also.

Mr. ARENS. Is your country Puerto Rico or the continental United States?

Mr. ROMAN. My country is—I am right now an American worker because I came here from Puerto Rico when I was 15. But that is the country of my birth. I love that country as much as I love this one here.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us what you are doing here in New York City among the Puerto Rican groups? Can you tell us?

Mr. ROMAN. Yes. I am telling you.

Mr. ARENS. First of all, tell us, if you please, what was the group before which you made this address on November 6th?

Mr. ROMAN. That was a general group. Insofar as my activities among the Puerto Ricans, I have more right to be among the Puerto Ricans than that lady over there.

Mr. ARENS. What was the name of the group that you addressed on November 6, 1959?

Mr. ROMAN. It is the people of New York that were called to that meeting.

Mr. ARENS. Where was the meeting held?

Mr. ROMAN. I don't know. Why don't you ask the people who gave you that?

Mr. ARENS. You were there, were you not?

Mr. ROMAN. Do you mean where it was held?

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute. I ask that you direct this witness to answer the question where this meeting was held.

Mr. TUCK. I order and direct you to answer where that meeting was held that you addressed and that you have been telling us so much about.

Mr. ROMAN. I have answered all the questions I have been asked in a proper way.

Mr. ARENS. Tell this committee where the meeting was held.

Mr. ROMAN. I am answering the question, Mr. Attorney, or whatever it is. I say this: That this Congress is going through in Puerto Rico for independence despite the attempt to curtail it and intimidate the people.

Mr. ARENS. Where was the meeting held on November 6, 1959?

Mr. ROMAN. It was held—you have the leaflets. We spread them all over New York.

Mr. ARENS. Where was it held?

Mr. ROMAN. At East 7th Street in the City of New York.

Mr. ARENS. Under whose auspices was the meeting held?

Mr. ROMAN. I plead the fifth amendment; due to the political climate that exists I have to appeal to the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. He cannot plead the fifth amendment. He has opened the door. He has waived the use of it. I ask that he be di-

rected to answer the question of under whose auspices that meeting was held.

Let's apply some of these constitutional provisions and laws he has been talking about to this part here.

Mr. ROMAN. Answering this question might tend to incriminate me, and I say I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. It is the desire and the purpose of this committee to protect all persons in their constitutional rights. In the opinion of the Chair you have opened up the subject and you have gone into it. You are not now entitled to rely upon the fifth amendment. You are, therefore, ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. ROMAN. I have given my frank opinion of everything, of everything; and the question here will tend to incriminate me, because this is the purpose of saying that people like myself are enemies of the United States. It will incriminate me in that sense.

Mr. SCHERER. What you said indicates that you are an enemy of the United States.

Mr. ROMAN. You just said that the Puerto Ricans create the conditions here in the United States and blame imperialism.

Mr. TUCK. Does the Chair understand that the witness refuses to answer the question as to the auspices under which this meeting was held?

Mr. ROMAN. Yes. I reiterate. I base myself on the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. SCHERER. And for the purpose of this record, I submit he has waived, absolutely, any right to invoke the fifth amendment in refusing to answer that question. I think the record shows it.

I think, Mr. Counsel, you should proceed further, make further inquiry about that meeting.

Mr. ARENS. How many people were in attendance at that meeting?

Mr. ROMAN. We wanted to get as many people there as possible, to give them the truth of what is going on. And, yes, we made a special effort, you see, to bring this message to the workers in New York.

Certainly my people, my oppressed people, they have to know, too. I don't care who says that we are infiltrated anywhere, because the ones that are infiltrating is somebody else that wants to keep the conditions of oppression of the Puerto Rican people and the Puerto Rican nation, as we are here in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Now will you answer how many people were at the meeting?

Mr. ROMAN. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair directs and orders the witness to answer the question.

Mr. ROMAN. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You say "we." Who else was a participant in this besides yourself?

Mr. ROMAN. I plead the fifth amendment, based on the possibilities of incrimination.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question as to who else participated with him in this meeting.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. ROMAN. I still plead the fifth amendment, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make it clear to the audience when you were making your speech that you were speaking as a Communist, or did you hide that fact?

Mr. ROMAN. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you to direct the witness to answer that question.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. ROMAN. I plead the fifth amendment, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me ask a question.

Did you get any money from the Communist Party for making that speech?

Mr. ROMAN. Maybe people that go into the workers' organizations to spy get money and lots of it. Nobody gives me money for nothing. I have to sweat it, like the same as those I associate with. I am a worker. To tell you the truth, that is also why I am not afraid of you, either.

Mr. TUCK. You still haven't answered the question. The question was, did you receive any money from the Communist organization for your services in making that speech. You can answer the question yes or no.

Mr. ROMAN. I think I did answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. Are you, or have you been, an instructor in the Faculty of Social Science?

Mr. ROMAN. I think I have the right to be a dishwasher, like I many times am, because of the darn colonial schooling that I got in Puerto Rico, 3½ years, that I told your committee in Washington. Fifty percent of the Puerto Rican children do not attend school. The other fifty percent, they have an educational life of 4 years of schooling. I am that average.

Mr. ARENS. Do you think the Communist Party program is a solution to the problems of the Puerto Ricans of New York City?

Mr. ROMAN. The workers themselves have to decide that, Mr. Chairman, or Mr. —

Mr. ARENS. Are you advocating the Communist Party program as a solution to the problems of the Puerto Rican nationality group in New York City?

Mr. ROMAN. I am advocating right now independence for Puerto Rico, that this committee doesn't want in Puerto Rico.

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute. I am on the record that any time the majority of the people of Puerto Rico want their independence, I am ready and willing to vote to give them their independence, the same as we gave independence to the Philippines when they wanted it.

Mr. ROMAN. Isn't that the same as George V said in 1766, just 10 years before the war broke out, about the American people? Yes, it is the same thing.

Mr. SCHERER. You know that 80 percent of the Puerto Ricans do not want their independence.

Mr. ROMAN. Every people wants their freedom. The American people wanted it and fought for it. The peoples of the world are fighting for it and they will get it, too, including Puerto Rico.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you telling me——

Mr. ROMAN. I am telling you. You don't know the Puerto Rican people. I do.

Mr. SCHERER. I would be just as happy as I could possibly be to cast a vote to give Puerto Rico its independence. The fact is, I have been there and I have talked with the people, they do not want their independence.

Mr. ROMAN. Yes, that is what they all say. In the meantime, you have that facade, which is a joke of freedom in this so-called free-state relationship, and besides that you have the so-called statehood party doing the dirty work, trying to give the impression that Puerto Rico could be a State. It could not be a State and you know it.

Mr. SCHERER. Those are Puerto Ricans who are trying to give that impression that they want to be a State, aren't they? Some Puerto Ricans in good faith are advocating statehood, are they not?

Mr. ROMAN. No. That has been pushed from here. The so-called regime that exists today was proposed by Tugwell back in 1942.

Mr. SCHERER. The truth is not in you.

Mr. ARENS. Did you equally advocate the freedom of the freedom fighters in Hungary when they were being mowed down by the Soviet tanks? Were you for the freedom of the Hungarian freedom fighters?

Mr. ROMAN. I certainly was not. I certainly wouldn't have anything to do with that imperialist conspiracy to do away with the socialist state. I most certainly don't. I am for the freedom of the Cuban people, though, and the Algerian people and the African people. I say that frankly to you.

Mr. SCHERER. Who isn't for them?

Mr. ROMAN. You aren't.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us whether or not you are an instructor at the Faculty of Social Science here in New York City?

Mr. ROMAN. This so-called Faculty of Social Sciences went out of existence a long time ago.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been an instructor in that Faculty of Social Science?

Mr. ROMAN. I said before that the first amendment of the Constitution gives me the right to do this. At the same time I raise the fifth because I know the purpose.

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute. He said that the Faculty of Social Science went out of existence a long time ago. He waives his privilege. He knows about it. Therefore, if he knows about the Faculty of Social Science, we want to know about it. I request that you direct the witness to answer Mr. Arens' question.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. ROMAN. I got both questions in my mind very clearly, and still it is the fifth amendment.

Mr. TUCK. In connection with the witness' refusal to answer the question, I would like the record to show his general demeanor, his defiance, his insolence.

Mr. ARENS. Did you collect money for subscriptions to the Vanguard?

Mr. ROMAN. I claim the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I have here a copy of page 4 of the Vanguard of February of this year, the column, "Letter to Our Readers." It states:

"Subscribe now—Contribute now. The Vanguard. Make all checks and money orders payable to ARMANDO ROMAN."

Kindly look at that exhibit which is now being displayed to you and tell this committee whether or not it truthfully recites the facts with reference to solicitation by yourself of these checks for Vanguard.

Mr. ROMAN. I plead the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Roman Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now will you kindly tell us whether or not you are accurately and truthfully described in the Communist Daily Worker of June 25, 1957, when they tell about a big rally to be held here in New York City? Among those who are going to participate is Armando Roman, "a Puerto Rican Communist leader in New York City."

Please look at that article as it is being displayed to you and tell this committee whether or not you are accurately and truthfully characterized there.

Mr. ROMAN. I plead the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Roman Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness except this: Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMAN. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. TUCK. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I would respectfully suggest that will conclude the interrogation of witnesses for this afternoon. We have witnesses who are subpoenaed today but whom we will be unable to reach.

We just have three witnesses for tomorrow. We have told them that they will be interrogated tomorrow, so I respectfully suggest that all witnesses who have not signed their vouchers for the witness fees come forward, please. Mr. Lewis will take care of them.

I respectfully suggest that will conclude our interrogation for this afternoon.

Mr. TUCK. The committee will stand in recess until ten o'clock in the morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:35 p.m. Monday, November 16, 1959, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Tuesday November 17, 1959.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY AND IN PUERTO RICO

(New York City—Part 1)

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1959

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
New York, N.Y.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m. in Courtroom 36, United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City, N.Y., Hon. Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio presiding.

Subcommittee member present: Representative Gordon H. Scherer.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; George C. Williams and William Margetich, investigators; and Fulton Lewis III, research analyst.

Also present: Donald F. Barnes, senior interpreter, United States Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Mr. SCHERER. The subcommittee will come to order.

Call your first witness for this morning's session, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. William Lorenzo Patterson, please come forward and remain standing while the oath is administered to you.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman, I will not take the oath, but I will affirm.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you raise your right hand, then?

Do you affirm that the statements you are about to give this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PATTERSON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM LORENZO PATTERSON

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask you for a copy of the rule under which this committee was recreated.

Mr. ARENS. That is in all of our publications, Mr. Witness.

Mr. PATTERSON. That is what I am asking for.

Mr. ARENS. Just have a seat, please, and identify yourself, if you please, by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. PATTERSON. One second. I would like to look at the rules by which this committee was created before I enter into any of the proceedings, if you don't mind. I think that privilege is mine.

Mr. SCHERER. The rules have been available for years, and if you wanted the rules you could have had them. If you want to object to any part of the procedure you can do so in a court.

Mr. PATTERSON. I asked for a copy of the rules yesterday and did not get them.

(A document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. ARENS. Now please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. PATTERSON. Just a second, if you will, please.

Mr. SCHERER. Is the witness a member of the bar?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, I am.

Mr. ARENS. The witness has appeared before the committee before. He is thoroughly acquainted with the rules of the committee.

Would you please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. SCHERER. Will you be seated and let's go ahead?

Mr. PATTERSON. I don't have to sit down, do I? I can stand?

Mr. SCHERER. You can stand if you want to. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. PATTERSON. I want first, Mr. Chairman, if you will, to challenge this committee. The rules under which this committee was established firmly say that this committee has jurisdiction only in the United States. This committee that is sitting here has stated to the public that it is going to Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be admonished to restrain himself, to keep his voice down, and to proceed in an orderly manner.

First respond to the question of identification.

Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Director, you don't have to teach me decorum. I think I have a little court decorum.

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute. I have had enough out of you. You know the rules. You are a member of the bar. I am ashamed to say that you are a member of the bar.

I direct you to answer.

Proceed with the next question.

Mr. PATTERSON. I challenge the jurisdiction—

Mr. ARENS. The next question is to please give your occupation.

Mr. SCHERER. You are directed to answer the question.

Proceed with the next question.

Mr. ARENS. The next question is: Have you, in the course of the recent past, made a trip to San Juan, Puerto Rico, on behalf of that conspiratorial organization known as the Communist Party?

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman, this committee is proceeding—

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, so that this committee may assert itself and not be baited by known, identified Communists, I respectfully suggest that the witness now be admonished either to restrain himself and to comply with the rules of this committee, or to be excused from the witness stand.

Mr. SCHERER. I so admonish you, and I now direct you to answer the last question.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman, I want to first raise issues as to the record.

Mr. SCHERER. You do not raise those here. You raise those in a court and you know it.

Mr. ARENS. This witness also knows the rules of the committee, that any legal matters of that character are to be presented to the committee in writing in advance.

Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness again be admonished to answer the last outstanding question, namely, in the recent past did you, on behalf of that conspiratorial organization known as the Communist Party, make a trip to San Juan, Puerto Rico?

Mr. SCHERER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. PATTERSON. As an American citizen, Mr. Chairman, I will not participate—

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. The marshal will ask the witness to leave the room, and I mean leave the room.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Richard Levins.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. SCHERER. Will the witness raise his right hand?

You do solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEVINS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF RICHARD LEVINS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JACK B. WEINSTEIN

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LEVINS. I will answer this question, but by so doing and by answering any further questions put to me, I am not waiving any right now available to me under the Constitution, any statute, the rules of the House of Representatives, or the rules of this committee or subcommittee.

Mr. ARENS. We understand that. Proceed, please, and identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LEVINS. My name is Richard Levins. I reside at 45 Tieman Place in Manhattan. I am a graduate student of genetics.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you pursuing your studies?

Mr. LEVINS. Columbia University, Department of Zoology.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. LEVINS. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. LEVINS. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. WEINSTEIN. My name is Jack B. Weinstein. My address is Kent Hall, the law school, Columbia University, New York 27, N.Y.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Levins, where and when were you born?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LEVINS. I was born in New York in 1930.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word, please, about your preliminary education.

Mr. LEVINS. Public school in Brooklyn, high school in Brooklyn, bachelor of arts degree from Cornell University in 1951, and I am now pursuing graduate study.

Mr. ARENS. After you received your bachelor of arts degree in 1951, would you then tell us your principal vocation?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LEVINS. I refuse to answer on each of the following grounds: One, my answer might tend to incriminate me; two, the question violates my rights under the first amendment; three, the question is not relevant to any question within the competency of this committee; and four, this inquiry is being conducted in violation of the rules of the House of Representatives.

Mr. ARENS. Have you engaged in any principal vocation other than your studies at Columbia University since 1951, concerning which you can tell this committee without giving information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. LEVINS. I refuse to answer for the reasons already stated.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, since 1951, left the continental United States?

Mr. LEVINS. I refuse to answer for the reasons already stated.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, in 1951, move to Puerto Rico?

Mr. LEVINS. I refuse to answer for the reasons already stated.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever lived in Puerto Rico?

Mr. LEVINS. I refuse to answer for the reasons already stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you honestly feel that to answer the question as to whether or not you lived in Puerto Rico might lead to a criminal prosecution?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LEVINS. I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. SCHERER. The answer to that question, if you are properly invoking the fifth amendment, should be "Yes." My question was whether you honestly believe that to answer the question as to whether you ever lived in Puerto Rico might lead to a criminal prosecution. I am merely trying to determine whether you are invoking the fifth amendment in good faith.

You cannot invoke the fifth amendment to that question. Your answer must be either "Yes" or "No."

(The witness conferred with this counsel.)

Mr. LEVINS. I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Then I direct you to answer my question as to whether or not you honestly believe that to answer the question now pending would lead to a criminal prosecution.

Mr. LEVINS. I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Levins, from investigative techniques of this committee, it is the information of the committee that in 1951 you moved to Puerto Rico, where you engaged in Communist activities as a member of the Communist Party for some several years, and that while there you were engaged in reproduction and production of Communist seditious literature which was disseminated in Puerto Rico.

Would you kindly accommodate this committee while you are under oath either by affirming or denying that assertion?

Mr. LEVINS. I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. ARENS. It is the information of this committee from its investigative techniques that in April of this year, as an operator of the Communist movement, you went again to Puerto Rico to confer with Cesar Andreu Iglesias. While you are under oath, would you confirm or deny that information?

Mr. LEVINS. I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. ARENS. Did you leave the continental United States in April of this year?

Mr. LEVINS. I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Cesar Andreu Iglesias?

Mr. WEINSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I must object—

Mr. ARENS. Your sole and exclusive prerogative, as you know, under the rules of this committee, is to advise your client.

Mr. WEINSTEIN. May I address you?

Mr. SCHERER. You may address the Chair through your witness, and if you want to have him ask a question or make an objection, you instruct your witness to do what you think he should do.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LEVINS. Mr. Chairman, I object to the continuation of this line of questioning in view of the fact that it has already been made clear that I am refusing to answer questions referring to the subject here, and that the questioning is being continued only for purposes of punishment.

Mr. ARENS. We advise you, sir, that the sole and exclusive purpose of this line of questioning is for the purpose of attempting to elicit from you information which can be of service to your government in its attempts to protect itself against the international Communist conspiracy, which threatens freedom everywhere.

Will you tell this committee, do you know a man by the name of Cesar Andreu Iglesias?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WEINSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I object to the staff director using the form of a question to introduce statements of opinion into the record. If he wishes to make statements, he may insert them directly into the record.

Mr. ARENS. As counsel knows, the conduct of this committee is not subject to counsel's control.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LEVINS. If this—

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us whether or not you know Cesar Andreu Iglesias?

Mr. LEVINS. Mr. Chairman, if this line of questioning continues, I will withdraw from the hearing on grounds that there is not a quorum present and it is not proceeding legally.

Mr. SCHERER. If you have any objections as to any of the procedures, they are properly made to a court. If you want to invoke the fifth amendment to any of the questions that are asked, you have a perfect right to do so. You have invoked the fifth amendment and we recognize your right to invoke the fifth amendment.

But we are going to proceed to ask you the questions.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell this committee whether or not you know Cesar Andreu Iglesias, of Puerto Rico?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LEVINS. On the basis of the previous grounds and the reasons I have already given, I am withdrawing from the hearing.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to ask you some more questions. We have a number of items of information we want to elicit from you, sir, which we think are important to the legislative purposes of this committee.

In view, Mr. Chairman, of the fact that the witness has withdrawn, I am now precluded from asking a series of questions which I had intended. I said I intended, within the hearing of this witness while he was in the witness room, to undertake to elicit information from him respecting his active participation in the Communist conspiratorial operation, both in New York City and in San Juan, Puerto Rico; but because the witness has now absented himself, made himself unavailable for the posing of these questions or the answering of these questions, I am precluded from continuing with the interrogation.

Mr. SCHERER. The record will so show.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that we call the next witness.

Please come forward, Mr. Jose Santiago.

Mr. SCHERER. Will the witness be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOSE SANTIAGO,* ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, WERNER L. LOEB

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. I could make an objection that there is no quorum of the committee, but I waive that objection.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Jose Santiago. I am a blacklisted diamond cutter. What is the other part of the question?

Mr. ARENS. Your residence, please.

Mr. SANTIAGO. 1137 Ward Avenue, Bronx, New York.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Santiago, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I am.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. LOEB. Werner L. Loeb, 84 Main Street, Nyack, N.Y.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born, and when, sir?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I was born in a Latin American nation, for 16 years a captive nation under the heel of the most criminal and brutal im-

*Member of Provisional Organizing Committee.

perialist American imperialists. In 1898, my country won an economic——

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute, Witness. You are speaking about your country, but you still didn't tell us what the country is.

Mr. SANTIAGO. The name of my country is a colonial way of life and I have to identify the country with the weaknesses.

Mr. SCHERER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTIAGO. Puerto Rico, in 1898.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I am a citizen of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Isn't the United States your country?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I am a Puerto Rican and I am an American. I am an American by an Act of Congress of 1917. I am an American because for 33 years I have been working and exploited by the American bosses. That makes me a part of the American working part, for which I am very proud.

In that sense, I consider myself an American, the type of American that are——

Mr. ARENS. Before we go further, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Do you see that woman over there and those two children? She was asked the same question by the Immigration Department and she is about to be deported because she claimed her constitutional rights, because she claimed it was nobody's business to interfere, and she had a right to do so——

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTIAGO. This woman is going to be deported and a home broken, with three American children.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I am answering the question, but I am answering it in the only manner I know how to answer it.

Mr. ARENS. You have not answered the question.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I am going to answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. You are directed to answer, and I will give you 30 seconds to answer the question. Now, give an answer.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I think the United States should practice a little bit what they advise, and not tell people to be afraid of ideas.

Mr. SCHERER. Proceed.

Mr. ARENS. The record is clear that you have not answered the preceding question.

How long did you live in Puerto Rico before you came to the United States?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I left Puerto Rico in, I think it was, 1926. I am not very sure.

Mr. ARENS. Have you lived in the United States continuously since you came here in 1926?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I lived in the United States continuously.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been back to Puerto Rico?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I went back to Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. When did you go back to Puerto Rico?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I went the first time in 1929.

Mr. ARENS. How many times, roughly speaking, have you been back there?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Well, I went the first time in 1929, the second time around 19—I am not sure—1932, I think. And I went again in 1945.

Mr. ARENS. And is that the last time you went back?

Mr. SANTIAGO. No; the last time I went back was 1949, I think.

Mr. ARENS. 1949?

Mr. SANTIAGO. 1949.

Mr. ARENS. Since you arrived in the United States, in addition to the occupation which you described, I believe, as a diamond cutter, have you been engaged in any teaching work?

Mr. SANTIAGO. What type of teaching work?

Mr. ARENS. Any teaching work of any character or description at any institution.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I have taught a lot of diamond cutters the trade.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been doing any teaching on the subject of the Puerto Rican nationality minority?

Mr. SANTIAGO. In what manner? I can't get to the question.

Mr. ARENS. Have you taught at the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. SANTIAGO. The school was closed many years ago.

Mr. ARENS. Did you teach at the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. SCHERER. The witness is directed to answer the question. Let's quit this sparring. Either answer or invoke the fifth amendment. You have a perfect right to do so if you want to.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. I decline to answer, invoking all my constitutional rights, especially the—

Mr. SCHERER. I didn't hear the witness.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I decline to answer—

Mr. SCHERER. Will you speak a little louder? I can't hear you. You were speaking a little louder before when you were making the speech. When you are invoking your constitutional rights, please speak up.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I decline to answer, claiming all my constitutional rights, especially the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. SCHERER. All right. Next question.

Mr. ARENS. We display to you a thermofax copy of an article in the Communist Daily Worker of Wednesday, July 7, 1954, in which you are described as one of the instructors at the Jefferson School of Social Science, teaching a course on "The Puerto Rican Nationality Minority."

Kindly look at this article and tell the committee whether or not you are accurately characterized there as the instructor of that course at the Jefferson School of Social Science.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. I decline to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Can I make a request?

(Document marked "Santiago Exhibit No. 1, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ask if you can make a request? Yes, you may make a request.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I would like to plead the fifth amendment on the question of "Are you a member of the Communist Party?"

Mr. SCHERER. The record will so indicate. I directed him to answer the question before, if you will recall, as to whether he was a member of the Communist Party, and he didn't answer. He now wants to invoke the fifth amendment to that question.

Of course, the record will so indicate, that he has refused to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. As to whether or not you are presently a member of the Communist Party, is that understood?

Mr. SANTIAGO. That is understood.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been to Guatemala?

Mr. LOEB. May I consult with him?

Mr. ARENS. Surely.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. I never intended to refuse an answer to the question.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been to Guatemala?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Never.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever made speeches on the subject of the Guatemalan story or addressed any groups or organizations on that subject?

Mr. SANTIAGO. The conditions of Guatemala are so similar to the conditions of Puerto Rico that no Puerto Rican that struggles for the independence of his country can ignore the Guatemalan question.

Mr. ARENS. Now please answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you feel that it is the Government of the United States that is preventing Puerto Rico from having its independence, or is it the fact that the majority of Puerto Ricans do not want independence?

Mr. SANTIAGO. To accept the argument that the majority of the Puerto Ricans do not want independence is also to say that the Negro don't want integration because there is no integration, or to say that the Negro from the South has no political representation because there is no representation in Congress, and that they are satisfied with the representation on the thing as it is, I mean according to your logic.

Mr. SCHERER. Is your argument with the people of Puerto Rico on the question of independence?

Mr. SANTIAGO. The people of Puerto Rico want economic improvements, they want economic freedom. The Congress for Independence recognized that only through political freedom can economic freedom be achieved, that political freedom would give us the means to go into the national economy to fight the interests of the Puerto Rican people.

Mr. ARENS. Is the program of the Communist Party to the benefit of the Puerto Ricans?

Mr. SANTIAGO. The Communist Party is part of the liberation movement in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. How do you know?

Mr. SANTIAGO. How do I know? By press reports.

Mr. SCHERER. That is the most significant answer to come out of this hearing. Let it stand.

Mr. ARENS. We display to you, if you please, a thermofax copy of an article from the Communist Daily Worker of April 23, 1954, in which you are listed as chairman of a Sunday forum, in Spanish or English, to be held at the Jefferson School on the Guatemalan situation—"The Guatemala Story."

Kindly look at this article and tell the committee whether or not your participation in that enterprise at the Jefferson School of Social Science is accurately described.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. It is obvious now from his answer, Counsel, that this man, as a Communist, is one of the agitators in the nationalist movement, like some of the others who have been here. The Communists are injecting themselves into Puerto Rican issues to start a pot of hatred boiling against the United States.

This man is not basically an American or a Puerto Rican. He is basically a Communist.

Mr. SANTIAGO. In spite of your argument, there is a concrete fact that I am a Puerto Rican, and as a Puerto Rican, I am concerned with the Puerto Rican, especially the fundamental problem of fighting for independence.

The movement for independence is a democratic movement where all people gather. They speak democracy, not with one side of the mouth, and then stop it from the other side of the mouth.

Mr. ARENS. Do you, in your program, advocate the use of force and violence?

Mr. SANTIAGO. If you want to know about force and violence, recall the massacre of Puerto Rico, the Palm Sunday massacre in Puerto Rico, recall the massacre at the university, the 18 American military interventions in Puerto Rico, the Little Rock situation, the lynchings in Mississippi. Then we can talk about violence.

Mr. ARENS. Please answer the question. You answered it on the other side of the coin. Tell us, do you advocate the employment of force and violence to attain your objectives?

Mr. SANTIAGO. The advocates of force and violence are the oppressors of my country, the ones that are keeping it, and I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. You plead the fifth amendment to the question as to whether you advocate force and violence. Let's have the record clear.

Ask the next question.

Mr. ARENS. I have the minutes—the report—made by a responsible person of integrity who attended a meeting* in which you were present on February 13, 1959, in New York City. The following was announced in the course of that session:

In Puerto Rico, we have a battalion ready to go to Santo Domingo. But in New York we can not even get a battalion together to go liberate Puerto Rico.

Do you have a recollection of those statements being made in a session in which you were present held in New York City on February 13, 1959?

Mr. SANTIAGO. That is ridiculous.

Mr. SCHERER. He just said, "It is ridiculous."

I direct you to answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

*Of the Provisional Organizing Committee.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I never make those remarks.

Mr. SCHERER. Counsel did not ask you whether you made them.

Mr. LOEB. Could we have a clarification?

Mr. SCHERER. Repeat so the record is clear.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. Would you repeat the question?

Mr. ARENS. Were you present in a session of your colleagues in New York City on February 13, 1959, when the statement which I just read to you was made by one of your associates?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I don't—are you asking—

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall a session in which you were present—a secret session, you thought it was secret anyway—held here in February of 1959?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I don't remember anybody making such remarks in any place.

Mr. ARENS. Were you present in a secret session on February 13, 1959?

Mr. SANTIAGO. 1959?

Mr. ARENS. February 13, 1959, here in New York City.

Mr. SCHERER. Read the statement again to him so there will be no question.

Mr. ARENS. A statement made by one of your colleagues in this meeting, which you thought was secret, was as follows:

In Puerto Rico, we have a battalion ready to go to Santo Domingo. But in New York we can not even get a battalion together to go liberate Puerto Rico.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I never heard of any statement in any place. I don't recollect making—

Mr. ARENS. Were you in a session of your colleagues in New York City on February 13, 1959?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. What is "colleagues"? What is my "colleagues"?

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man whose last name is Garcia?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Well, I know my brother-in-law by that name.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of Garcia who was in a meeting with you in February of 1959?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Well, I decline to answer that question, invoking the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Were you in a session on February 13, 1959, in which Angel Torres participated?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Were you in the same session in February 1959 in which Armando Roman participated?

Mr. SCHERER. Ask him, Counsel, if he knows him.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Armando Roman?

Mr. SCHERER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTIAGO. Let me have some water.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Armando Roman?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. I decline to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, I am sorry, but your voice is not carrying.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman. I say I decline to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting directives which a man by the name of Garcia brought from Puerto Rico to the Communist nucleus here in New York City in February of 1959?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that in February of 1959, you and others in New York City assembled in what you thought was a secret session, at which time you received directives from the Communist conspiracy in San Juan, Puerto Rico, which directives included development of militant groups for the purpose of the employment of force and violence in Puerto Rico.

If that is not a fact, deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. SANTIAGO. The force and violence in Puerto Rico comes out from imperialism.

Mr. SCHERER. I can't hear you.

Mr. SANTIAGO. The force and violence in Puerto Rico comes from the oppressor nation.

Mr. SCHERER. You are directed to answer the question. You are not answering the question. You are making a statement.

The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I plead the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Santiago Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. Proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Do you, sir, presently, at this moment, have information respecting the current operations among the Puerto Rican colony in New York City of agents of the Communist conspiracy in Puerto Rico, which information you can, via this committee, supply to the Government of the United States?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Is the committee saying that the Puerto Ricans are just a group of morons, waiting for anybody to whisper what they have to do?

Mr. SCHERER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. Would you mind repeating the question again?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Reporter, read the question to him.

(The question was read by the reporter.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LOEB. Has the witness been directed to answer?

Mr. SCHERER. The witness was directed to answer that question. I so direct him again.

Mr. SANTIAGO. This Communist conspiracy is just a pure fabrication.

Mr. SCHERER. I can't hear the witness.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I say that this so-called Communist conspiracy among the Puerto Ricans is a pure fabrication. Actually, to persecute the people that are there, to challenge the power of the oppressor—it is only the fact that so far they have succeeded in dividing the people.

Mr. SCHERER. The witness has been directed to answer.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. In May of 1959 did you attend a session at 2061 Lexington Avenue, in New York City?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. I decline to answer on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to read you an excerpt from a report from a reliable source of integrity respecting a statement you made in a secret session, or a session you thought was secret, at 2061 Lexington Avenue, New York City, in which a number of identified, hard-core Communists, including yourself, participated. I ask you to affirm or deny this statement:

Santiago stated that the Puerto Rican Liberation Front had about 2,000 members and had a chapter in New York. * * * He calls for a united front of negro and white workers, and stated that the 3d Congress for Puerto Rican Independence would take place this Fall, and that unity of the Puerto Rican workers and peasant was developing and would lead to the same sort of success that has been gained in the Cuban Revolution.

I put it to you as a fact, sir, that you made those statements in a session held on May 1, 1959, here in New York City, at 2061 Lexington Avenue. If that is not a fact, if it varies from the truth in any manner, any particular, by direction or indirection, deny it while you are under oath.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. Will you repeat the question again, please?

Mr. ARENS. Would you please answer the question?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I request a repetition of the question, please.

I request the repetition of the question.

Mr. ARENS. Read the question, Mr. Reporter.

(The question was read by the reporter.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. Before I answer the question, I believe in the unity of the Puerto Rican people to achieve independence—

Mr. SCHERER. The witness is directed to answer.

Witness, if you answer that question and tell us about this meeting, then I will let you make a speech for a half hour, but I don't think you are going to answer that question. I think you are going to invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I do invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. I thought so.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to continue to read excerpts of the report from an unimpeachable source about the meeting of May 1, 1959, in New York City held at 2061 Lexington Avenue, in which you were in attendance. The report quotes you as saying:

There are two things that are a cause for hope, the help of the Soviet Union for the colonial people, and the Cuban Revolution. * * * the Cuban Revolutionary Movement leaders did not heed the Communist warnings until late in the game, but when they did heed the Communists the 6000 members of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba provided the leadership for the final fight against BATISTA.

Did you, sir, at that session, make that statement?

Mr. SCHERER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTIAGO. There is a statement in the New York Times, a document of the Cuban Government to the United States.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, again I say if you answer the question I will let you make all the speeches you want, but now you are directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I feel that I am answering this question.

Mr. SCHERER. No, you are not answering the question. You answer the question first, and then you can make the speech. If you answer the question and do not invoke the fifth amendment, I will listen to you for a half hour.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make that statement, sir, at that session, on May 1, 1959?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Well, I have the half hour.

Mr. ARENS. Please answer the question.

Mr. SANTIAGO. You were here yesterday——

Mr. ARENS. Please answer the question, sir.

Mr. SANTIAGO. And I am claiming——

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that you did make the statement. Now answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I plead the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Santiago Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. Next question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information presently about the offer of participation by representatives of the Soviet Union in employment of force and violence in Puerto Rico?

Mr. SANTIAGO. We have seen plenty of force and violence in Puerto Rico on the part of the imperialists. We have seen plenty of it. The people are tired of it. They are beginning to realize, you know, that they have to fight for independence, the whole Latin Americans.

Mr. ARENS. They have realized what?

Mr. SANTIAGO. That they have to fight for their own liberation, their own independence.

Mr. ARENS. Did you say that they have to fight for independence?

Mr. SANTIAGO. They have to struggle for independence, achieve independence.

Mr. ARENS. How are they going to achieve it?

Mr. SCHERER. This is typically a Communist line, the Communist program, the stirring up of animosities and hatreds by men like this.

You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I am a man that works 6 days a week, 24 hours a day.

Mr. ARENS. How do you propose that they achieve this independence?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I am not proposing. The people will determine how they will achieve it.

Mr. ARENS. Will they use force and violence?

Mr. SANTIAGO. In the last instance, the imperialists will dictate the form.

Mr. ARENS. Will they use force and violence?

Mr. SANTIAGO. They are trying to get it through legal means now, and they——

Mr. SCHERER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I invoke the fifth amendment on the question.

Mr. ARENS. What have you been doing from the standpoint of advocating the use of force and violence?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Coming from the users of force and violence, it surprises me, because history is full of force and violence on the part of

American imperialism. There have been 18 American military interventions in Latin America. There have been 171 acts of——

Mr. SCHERER. I am tired of these statements. Now let's answer the question. You are directed to answer.

Mr. SANTIAGO. Speaking of violence, go to the Negro people, to the Latin American people, and they can answer the question on force and violence.

Mr. SCHERER. Ask the next question.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to lay before you, sir, the June 1959 issue of Vanguard.

Mr. SANTIAGO. They want to indict you by implication.

Mr. ARENS. Vanguard has as its masthead "The Marxist-Leninist Vanguard." "Without a Revolutionary Theory There can be no Revolutionary Practice!" "Workers of the World Unite."

On page 2 of the June issue of the Vanguard, the following appears:

The third strike was Jo Ann's choice of a man. She married Jose Santiago, a Puerto Rican Communist and a member of the POC, who has been a year's long participant in workers struggles in New York and for the independence of Puerto Rico. He is the best known Puerto Rican Communist both in the United States and Latin America.

Is that characterization of you in this issue of the June 1959 Vanguard true and correct?

Mr. SANTIAGO. It is very important when you have the power to indict by implication. It looks to me that I have a right to answer. Apparently the committee already expects the answer they anticipated. It is very difficult to give an answer because there is no right.

We are supposed to give information, but we haven't the slightest right of debate, of projecting that information. If they are interested in information, there is plenty of information for decent legislation to improve the conditions of the Puerto Rican people.

Mr. ARENS. Would you please answer the question?

Mr. SCHERER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I plead the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Santiago Exhibit No. 4" and retained in the committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. The witness is excused.

The committee will recess for 5 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. SCHERER. The subcommittee will be in order.

Do you have any more witnesses, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. That will conclude the staff interrogation here in New York City on this particular project, if you please, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. In concluding the hearings here in New York City, I should like to make a few comments.

In the brief sampling which we have been able to make here there has been a verification and confirmation of information developed over the course of the last several months in our informal investigations. Much of this verification and confirmation has come by indirection from those witnesses who in varying degrees have refused to answer questions posed by the committee.

There are emerging in these hearings certain general patterns of Communist activity on which we hope to receive additional information in the course of the next few days during our continuation of these hearings in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

It is clear that the Communist conspiracy covets the Puerto Rican nationality group in New York City, and is attempting to develop alliances with Communists on the island of Puerto Rico in order to carry out the nefarious objectives of the conspiracy.

After we have completed our hearings in San Juan, we will return to Washington with the information which has been developed and use it as part of the fund of knowledge which we are gaining to assist us in the discharge of our duties, which, under a mandate of the Congress, are in essence to maintain a continuing surveillance over the operation of our various security laws and to recommend, when necessary, amendments to those laws, or enactment of new laws.

I should like to express the gratitude of the committee to all of the officials here who have cooperated with the committee, and particularly the United States marshal and his deputies.

I cannot emphasize too strongly that the Puerto Ricans are fine, loyal Americans; that we are not investigating Puerto Ricans or any group or political faction that may exist in Puerto Rico. What we are doing is showing that here in New York and in Puerto Rico there is a hard core of Communists who are neither loyal to the United States nor to the people of Puerto Rico, but are dedicated agents of the Soviet apparatus.

They are surreptitiously injecting themselves into every activity, into every group, into every movement, wherever possible, for the purpose of stirring up dissension, hatred, and ill will toward the United States. These agents of the Kremlin have done it in Cuba, they are doing it in Panama, they are doing it in some of the countries in Latin America, and they are attempting to do it in Puerto Rico.

This concludes the hearing.

(Whereupon, at 11:25 a.m. Tuesday, November 17, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, November 18, 1959, in San Juan, Puerto Rico.)

(Member of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Representative Scherer.)

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A fine is incurred by retaining it
beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

